

PTE Központi Könyvtár

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**University of Pecs
Faculty of Business and Economics
School of Business Administration**

English Language Ph.D. Program

**WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A STUDY OF
THE APPOINTMENT OF MAYORAL ADVISORS ON THE
STATUS OF WOMEN**

**Orna Mager
Submitted to Prof. Ferenc Farkas
September 2004**

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PTE Egyetemi Könyvtár



P000873932

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"The seagull that flies highest sees furthest" (The Seagull by Richard Bach)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The research objective

Advancing and integrating females at decision-making hubs in public administration is one area of policy in which there has been extensive activity in recent years. The literature deals with the subject of women in society and in politics. Throughout the years it has presented women as controlled by males in dishonest and indirect, overt and covert ways, to maintain the social order and the traditional gender roles, amongst other things by thrusting females from the public domain and locating them in the private domain.

But it would seem that the rapid changes in society and politics nowadays again do not enable the use of the classic mechanisms that, for years, served as a means to keep women from the *foci* of decision-making in public and political life (Herzog, 2000). Radai, Carmel and Liban-Kobi (1995) note that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) treaty to

“...erase all types of discrimination against females adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1979, was set as temporary means intended to accelerate *de facto* non-discretionary equality between males and females” (p. 176).

Moreover, the treaty assures a commitment to take all necessary steps to further women in society to equality in political and public life.

The experts' committee adjacent to CEDAW has, since 1994, systematically proposed its implementation to countries party to the agreement by determining numerical objectives and quotas in order to hasten *de facto* equality between males and females in national and local politics. Israel ratified the treaty in 1990.

In the last decade, we have been witness to legislation impetus in Israel in this domain, such as the 1999 Equal Opportunity Law, the 1991 Law preventing Family Violence, the 1996 Equal Salary Law, the 1998 Law to Prevent Sexual Molestation, the 1998 Law of the National Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women and the correction to the Law of Female Equal Rights approved by the Israel *Knesset* (Parliament) in 2000 (Halprin and Koenigsberg, 2002).

In 2000, the *Knesset* passed a proposal formulated in the Committee for Advancement of the Status of Women regarding employing a female advisor to the head of the Authority on the Status of Women in every local authority in Israel.

Based on this law, every

“...Local authority shall appoint an advisor on the status of women who will be an employee of the local authority at one of four highest ranks in the ranking to which she belongs and is customary in that authority...The advisor on matters pertaining to the status of women will work together with the head of the local authority to plan policy on the advancement of the status of women within the authority, its implementation and allocating resources to this end...

The advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall be invited to every session of the local authority council and to each of the committees...

Should the advisor on the status of women attend the meeting she shall be given the opportunity to state her opinion before any decision pertinent to issues on the status of women is taken”.

(Government of Israel, 2000, p. 2)

When the law was first applied, there were only about 40 female advisors (in 245 local authorities) compared to some 132 advisors now functioning around the country, according to the Report of the Authority to Further the Status of Women (Prime Minister's Office, 2003). The advisors work in cooperation with this Authority, established in the wake of the 1998 Law to Advance the Status of Women.

The law aims to

- Advance equality between the genders in Israel
- Create coordination between organizations dealing with the status of women
- Further education, legislation and enforcement in these areas
- Further activities to prevent violence against women
- Place the tools and information necessary to achieve the above mentioned objectives at the disposal of the government

- Establish a central authority to implement these principles as approved by the government. This will be obligatory for the government ministries.

The study aims to lay the foundations to explore policy on advancing and integrating women at *foci* of power and decision-making in public administration. This will be achieved by examining the application of public policy, as manifested in the Local Authorities Law on the Appointment of Mayoral Advisors on the Status of Women. The focus will be on an examination of the operation and activities of the advisors, as agents of change at the field level. They are selected from amongst employees of the local authority, are administratively subordinate to the Mayor, and sometimes even to the City Manager, responsible for the physical implementation of the plans on the subject of the status of women but answerable to the Mayor alone.

This study is of considerable importance for creating a data infrastructure to explore the ability of mayoral advisors to integrate in the power mechanisms in local authorities, and their ability to cope with past perceptions. This will be analyzed on both the personal level as females in senior positions in a mainly masculine-administrative environment, and on the professional level, in their ability to position themselves at the *foci* of influence and locate the subjects associated with advancing women in positions of public prominence.

Their professional abilities, their perception of the issue and their functioning in the public-political decision-making system in local authorities, will be explored as key parameters shaping systemic policy and allocating resources on advancing the topic in public administration.

Analysis of the implementation of the Local Authorities Law (2000) will be examined as the key to reasonable advancement of the female interests in the division of economic resources and in determining social priorities on the public agenda.

This will be done by examining the declared objectives *versus* the perception of the role and practical functioning by the advisors appointed to, and filling, the position for at least two years.

A review of the stages that led to shaping policy, intended to establish advancing the issue of the status of women in the Israeli public agenda, as manifested in the above law, is intended to clarify the importance of the

study in Israel, despite its empirical limitations, as will be explained below.

In 1973, after the Yom Kippur War, the feminist voice began to be heard demanding change in the social order and in basic social arrangements that create gender inequality. A review of the status of women in Israel prior to that war is presented in section 2.4 on gender perception in Israel.

The oath of silence over the problem of violence in the family towards women was broken in the 8th *Knesset* (Parliament), and the feminist claim of the rights of women to their bodies was heard in *Knesset* debates (although it was not accepted). Examination of the printed media from that period and from *Knesset* debates indicates that the public and the elected members did not graciously accept the new issues on the political agenda, but they already could not be ignored.

In 1975, the Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, established a committee to examine the status of women in Israel. In 1978, for the first time, the committee presented full findings regarding women in Israel that revealed the dimensions of inequality. The importance of the committee's report should, however, be noted. It afforded women from diverse areas the opportunity to work together and its very existence offered society a chance to recognize women as an interest group (Prime Minister's Office, 1978). The report is a significant breakthrough as a document symbolic of the commitment of Israeli society to implement change in the status of women.

Its first recommendation was to establish a national authority to deal with, and track, the status of women. But until recently, the Prime Ministers made do with the appointment of an advisor on the status of women adjacent to them, an appointment lacking authority and resources.

Only in the 13th *Knesset* (1992) did the Local Authorities Law pass. Two years after the 1998 elections to the 14th *Knesset* the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women was established in the Prime Minister's Office.

Following the committee's recommendations, it was also decided to appoint women to be responsible for the advance of their gender in the various offices in the public sector. The professional subordination of those filling these positions would be to the Prime Minister's advisor on the status of women, to the Ministry deputy manager, and functionally to the head of the department in which they work.

The operative significance of this decision is the decentralization of the role and its neutralization from concentrated activity as the result of the multiplicity of subordinations.

At the same time this recommendation was the basis for the appointment of a mayoral advisor on the status of women, who would head the local Women's Council.

Additional progress was realized in 1984, when Sarah Doron, a Member of *Knesset*, a Minister without portfolio and responsible for the issue of the status of women, sent an official letter to the heads of local authorities in which she encouraged them to establish councils.

The first Women's Council was established in 1974 in Haifa, following the local initiative of the women's organizations in that city. The background to the establishment of women's public advisory committees adjacent to the Haifa mayor was the frustration and anger at the women's voice and opinions not being heard at the city's decision-making *foci* during the difficult period in Israel following the Yom Kippur war.

The administration of the City of Haifa decided on 17.3.1974 that

“...the Council feels obliged to operate and initiate women's involvement in civilian and public activities at the decision-making level and at the level of operating voluntary activities..the council considers spreading the awareness of civil activities in all the above areas to be most important” (Rom, 1994).

Although the idea developed in the 70s and 80s, few Women's Councils were established in the large local authorities. In 1987 only 8 Women's Councils existed, but had little impact.

The phenomenon accelerated only in the 90s. With the help of the Women's Lobby and of women prominent in local and national politics, Women's Councils were founded in many local authorities. Similarly, an advisor on the status of women was appointed at the Union of Local Authorities in Israel in 1994, responsible also for the Women's Councils (Herzog, 2000; Women's Lobby, 2000).

There are today 70 official councils in Israel whose members are the representatives of women's organizations and sometimes of neighborhoods and sectors, as well as political and local community activists.

The structure, the activities and the authority of each Women's Council varies from place to place. The Council's decisions are not binding and are taken as recommendations alone by the head of the local authority. The Council budget is mostly derived from the municipal budget, according to the decision of the head of the local authority or council. Many Women's Councils also recruit money independently from various funds, and work together with organizations with their independent budgets.

The Committee on the Advancement of the Status of Women was established by the *Knesset* in 1992. Its objective was to administer female politics in the framework of the commitment of female *Knesset* members to the topic, in addition to their obligation to other issues. This commitment is manifested in legislative initiatives to advance the status of women, and to develop work styles influenced by the grass roots female discourse as of the end of the 70s.

Political leaders in Israel did not see themselves in the past as representing women. But in recent years a change occurred, and studies note the existence of a new generation of female politicians, with growing awareness of female issues in Israel, who do not obey traditional cultural codes that differentiate between the genders and shape new cultural codes (Yishai, 1987; Sharfman, 1988; Binyamin-Kurtz, 1995).

The Committee on the Advancement of the Status of Women became a focus of power of the female members of the *Knesset*, and many issues gradually ceased to be defined as 'female' issues (family violence, rape, income disparity). Some of the Committee's achievements are connected to the establishment of frameworks to deal with the topic (such as the National Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women). Others pertain to creating supervisory mechanisms for national institutions (such as the Committee's authority to demand reports from national institutions on diverse subjects relevant to women. Moreover, the Committee is responsible for legislative initiatives and for raising issues in the *Knesset* and to the public agenda (such as education towards gender equality, single parents, sexual molestation and so on). Examination of the issues raised for discussion testifies to the attempt to deal with various female populations, and even expand the public discussion on the subject of

gender (Women's Lobby, 2000). The committee has an important contribution on this dimension in institutionalizing the feminist agenda in Israel.

An important turning point regarding the status of women occurred with the passage of the correction to the Government State Company Law in 1993. Therein, and for the first time, the *Knesset* employed legislation to further a compulsory standard for realizing equality between the genders, based on the principle of affirmative action. The innovation manifested itself in the need to support the proportion of women in the employment system in general, and at the administrative levels in particular, of all sectors of the economic activity in Israel (Radai et al., 1995).

Affirmative action is a legal issue in a number of countries. In Israel the first affirmative action program was passed in 1985, when the government took the decision regarding equal opportunities for women in the civil service and in authorities subordinate to the government ministries (Radai et al., 1995). Moreover, the importance of consequential equality i.e., the need for equal integration of all social groups in foci of political and social power, as serving the objectives of justice, was recognized in petitions submitted to the High Court of Justice in 1994 (by Alice Miller and the Women's Lobby) (Women's Lobby, 2000). In 1996, following a change in government, the Civil Service Commissioner decided to establish a separate unit to deal only with the problems of female employees in the civil service, and to afford it the authority of direct action for all subjects pertinent to the advance of women in the service.

In 1997, the Civil Service Commission published an official announcement describing the role of the person responsible for advancing and integrating women in the civil service, and its authority. The announcement indicates ambiguity in the role of those responsible. The section dealing with the role describes amorphous activities, without an operating budget. It is hard to understand the framework of the advisor's activities, the boundaries of the role, the authority regarding the ability to enforce activities and/or levy sanctions regarding overt discrimination amongst the employees (Civil Service Commission, 1997).

There is no doubt that the appropriate authority delegated to the unit, that functions without an operational budget, is a central component of the symbolic policy on the subject, to be discussed further in the literature review and the research itself.

In 2001, a law was prepared by the Committee for the Advancement of Women with respect to employing a mayoral advisor on the status of women, to head the Women's Council in every local authority, wherein members of the Women's Council would continue to work on a voluntary basis. The proposed law aimed to appoint an advisor who would be subordinate to the head of the authority.

The advisor would head the Women's Council and

“..work together with the head of the local authority to plan policy on the advancement of the status of women within the authority, its implementation and allocating resources to this end.”

(Local Authorities Law, 2000, para. 4b)

The Law proposes that the advisor be invited to all the meetings of the local authority and “be given the opportunity to state her opinion before any decision pertinent to her work is taken” (Local Authorities Law, 2000, para. 5c).

The preamble to that law states that,

“...The new role proposed by this Law, Advisor on the Status of Women, is a particularly essential role in view of the current condition in which cases of discrimination and violence against women are multiplying...the role is to enable operating for better and functional operation of the authority in the areas connected to women in the community..

Women's Councils operate with great success and on a voluntary basis in some 70 authorities.

The subject is left to the arbitrariness of the head of the authority and in many places there is no readiness on his part to appoint an advisor. The purpose of this law is to define the obligations and authority of the advisor on the status of women...”.

(Local Authorities Law, 2000)

This proposed law was intended to institutionalize the subject of the advancement of women and set it on the public political agenda of the local authorities. It relates to the degree of commitment of the head of the authority, and of all the decision-taking mechanisms there, to recommendations and decisions of the mayoral advisor on the status of women. The ability of the mayoral advisors to integrate in the *foci* of

power and their impact on local politics and public administration have yet to be studied.

This study is pioneering in its domain. In 2001-2002 began the process of implementing the Law and the appointment of mayoral advisors. Only about 40 advisors were appointed during those first years, who worked without any instruction or guidance regarding the substance of their positions. In 2003, the Authority on the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office began extensive activity to force the mayors to fulfill the instructions of the law and appoint advisors.

In November 2003, elections to the local authorities in Israel were held, and many of the appointed advisors were fired when the mayor was replaced. Recently, the Authority on the Status of Women has started operating to assure the reappointment of advisors in these authorities.

This is the background to the period in which empirical research was conducted that aimed at exploring the ability of mayoral advisors to influence the public agenda in local authorities and to create change in the perception of the status of women amongst decision-makers. The conditions described had considerable impact on the empirical research process. It limits itself to the entire target population that has not yet established itself in its role due to political changes.

The research thus mainly focused on the group of veteran advisors who had been working for at least two or three years. They were the appointees who received training and professional assistance in 2003 from the Authority on the Status of Women, in order to develop a clearer and more uniform perception of the role, and to help chart policy. As mentioned above, this is a pioneering study on the topic, whose basic assumption is that the Local Authorities Law in Israel (2000) enables creating a mechanism for motivating a significant process of change on the advancement of women in public administration, as will be proven through the advisors' activities.

On the background of these facts, the study is likely to offer a significant data base for a broader analysis of the appointment of advisors as is dictated by Law. There is no doubt that, to this end, a further period of time is necessary till the reappointment of additional advisors, who this year will embark on a training process to fulfill their position. Examination of the implementation of the Local Authorities Law (2000), of the appointment of advisors and of their practical functioning will be examined using the "top down" and the "bottom up" approaches. They

will emphasize the significant variables in the advisors' functioning that affect the process of change in the perception of the status of women amongst decision-makers in public administration.

1.2 The research questions

1. Is the principle of female representation at *foci* of power and their influence on public administration the key to the reasonable advancement of female interests in determining the order of social priorities and the distribution of economic resources?
2. Can the appointment of mayoral advisors on the advancement of the status of women be explored as a basis for the possible mechanism for motivating a significant process of change in the perception of the topic at *foci* of decision-making in public policy?
3. Can the advisors integrate in the *foci* of power in the public mechanism, work towards increasing political-public awareness of the subject and persuade those shaping policy in the local authorities to allocate resources to the subject of professional advancement of in the organization?

1.3 The research hypotheses

- 1 The study is likely to prove that the law on the appointment of a female mayoral advisor will create change in the perception and attitude amongst *foci* of power and influence in the local authority to the subject of the advancement of women.
- 2 The research is likely to reveal a connection between the status and functioning of the advisors on the status of women at the *foci* of power and influence in the local authorities, raising the subject to the public agenda and allocating resources for its advancement as follows:
 - The more autonomous the status of the mayoral advisor, and the broader her professional experience, the greater will be her impact on decision-makers
 - The greater advisor's involvement with decision-makers in the local authority, the greater the scope of her activities and the greater the resources allocated to the advancement of the subject
 - The broader the advisor's perception of the role and her assessment of the requisite activities, the greater her administrative and professional activity

Chapter 2

The Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The review of the literature focuses mainly on the question of the social-political-public equality of women in Israel and discusses two main aspects:

1. The status of women in Israel - presenting the general background with an extensive theoretical discussion of general social insights that affect the perception of the status of women in society and at the *foci* of public power. Similarly, diverse perceptions regarding feminist theories will be debated with a review of the studies that represent various aspects of the topic.
The chapter will thereafter mainly emphasize gender perception in Israel from diverse aspects, influenced by the ideology characterizing the country as well as the earlier theories.
2. A discussion of the issue of determining policy in public administration with an emphasis on the local authorities. Theoretical concepts will be defined, important to understanding the framework, and relevant models for public decision-making will be offered together with the policy making process. The review of the Israel Union of Local Authorities (IULA) and the structure and functioning of the local authorities and mayoral advisors will be depicted.

These areas will offer research and theoretical context to study the appointment of mayoral advisors on the status of women in local authorities in Israel.

2.2 The perception of the status of women in Israel

This section opens with a review of the background to the subject of gender equality based on the research literature. The second part will mainly present the perception of gender in Israel, the myth of equality and the historical background regarding the status of women. This review provides the theoretical basis for understanding the significance of the Local Authorities Law (2000) in Israel on appointing mayoral advisors on the status of women.

The differentiation between sex and gender is central to understanding feminist theories. Sex is a biological category, based on genetic and hormonal structure; gender is a social category that includes the definitions and perceptions regarding the way in which a particular sex should behave. While the sexual category is stable throughout history, the gender category changed according to place, culture, society and period.

Gender reflects not only thought and behavior but also creates unequal stratification in the division of power, wealth and social rights. The perception of gender in terms of power is a central component in gender research. One of the foremost manifestations of stratification by gender is to be found in the work world.

The beginning of gender research was in a general framework of social science studies. Researchers assumed that the total of the quantifiable changes between the genders reflects gender difference (Amir et al., 1997).

With the development of feminist research as an independent and legitimate area of study, gender perception began to also be explored by researchers from the feminist realm, who investigated deeper stratae. The research began to focus on clarifying the validity and the study of basic social assumptions, that until then were perceived as agreed variables. The feminist demand was to shift from **History** to **Herstory** in all areas of study.

Feminist researchers differ from social studies researchers, who accept and operate according to the basic assumption of the conventional research paradigm, in assuming that humanity is accustomed to see the world through male eyes. Thus not only the world picture itself should be examined, but also the ways in which the world picture has been researched until now. The number of studies in the various disciplines dealing with the diverse aspects of gender and their implications has increased in the last 30 years, following the breakthrough of the second feminist wave of the 60s.

The place of the male-female dichotomy as a separate subject for investigation and research was not central until the mid 90s. Some view the social-economic changes that occurred following the industrial revolution as the source of change in the awareness of minorities (Herzog, 1994; Liran-Alper, 1994; Avraham, 1995; Radai et al., 1995).

The peace process that characterized the period following World War II enabled the transfer of emphases to furthering social processes, and demands for representation of minority groups were accepted with greater understanding. The social changes that occurred during that decade led to a major innovation in research and philosophy regarding gender in two main ways:

1. The subject became a separate area of study
2. Most of those involved in its study were women

The location and status of women in the various life configurations has occupied researchers in diverse degrees and directions throughout this century (Liran-Alper, 1994; Radai et al., 1995). The research first concentrated on the biological-physiological aspect and on differences between the genders as explaining diverse behaviors and attitudes. Today, feminist theories are characterized by a great split, wherein gender is a notable and dynamic concept.

In America and Western Europe groups of female researchers from diverse disciplines organized themselves to study gender. The research covers various aspects of the status of women and their representation in the social, economic and political systems (Shachar, 1987; Liran-Alper, 1994; Avraham, 1995). In the late 60s and the 70s the researchers handled much material by male researchers that had accumulated on the subject. They focused on criticizing the research methods, the lack of consistency in the findings and mainly tried to provide alternative explanations.

In the 80s, the intensity of the involvement in differences observed between men and women, and the attempts to explain them, declined. Research focused on the value, cultural, traditional and philosophical aspects. The dominant assumption was that women are indeed different, and that the inherent differences also influence their style of thought.

The philosophy of knowledge in this domain offered two main approaches in recent years:

1. Feminist empiricism that learned anew various disciplines, and dealt with a different understanding of existing concepts
2. The approach that wished to free itself of cognitive language and analysis, viewing it as "male language".

Many female researchers examine the impact of the economic-political renewal processes on the status of women. Studies prior to the feminist era do not reveal a particular need to differentiate women as a group, and they are treated as a sub-group within the general population.

Thus were changes in the rights of women studied, based on orders of the revolution, women's movements in the public domain, the use of technological improvements, their status in the labor market, in politics and so on (Israeli, Friedman, Shrift and Radai, 1982; Israeli and Tabory, 1988; Azmon, 1991). The worldwide struggle of women to integrate and for equality gave birth to the feminist movement.

The term 'feminist' was first used in the 1980s to describe the female struggle for the right to choose. Grassroots feminism grew in the 1960s, and became the main force motivating female politics. It embraces paradoxes that exist till now. It demands gender awareness as a basis for its activities and existence, while demanding cancellation of the division of social roles that are perceived and understood on a gender basis.

Feminism was, at first, just another project in the modern debate, at whose basis underlying which is the desire to locate the general principles that organize social order. It grew from criticism of the liberal ideas that were not realized in view of the male bent in the liberal-egalitarian debate (Shohat, 1979; Shiran, 1991; Swirsky and Safir, 1993; Fogel-Bijoi, 1997).

Academic studies note a disparity amongst women between the attitude towards discrimination and self-definition as feminists (Shmushkovitz, 1997; Weinstein, 1998). One of the implications of that objection to feminism is that women do not identify as a group that can organize itself to work towards changing its condition. Most of their struggles are individual and private, and very few occur through the organization of a group that fights to alter policy or discriminatory norms.

Women do not translate their influence and ability into empowerment; they enjoy personal strength but lack special power. The feeling of a lack of power stems from the absence of real resources that can provide a basis for influence, and from internalizing the stereotypical-social perception according to which a contradiction exists between femininity and the direct expression of power.

The professional literature documents women who gain strength in mid-life and alter the private array of power in their homes, but is insufficient to modify the patriarchal array of power in society (Herzog, 1994; Friedman, 1996). A more common phenomenon in recent years is female organization on an informal basis. However, women tend not to translate this power to political power that will influence policy for social change. Women's organizations are not groups with common interests or attitudes

in the social, economic or cultural domain. Their very existence as separate organizations led to progress in activities defined as 'female' that emphasize the paradox: The struggle for equality accompanied by organizational separatism (Brichta, 1975; Swirsky, 1991; Fogel-Bijoi, 1996). The use of the motherly voice in the public debate, as in the subject of peace movements, is a very significant change in perception. However, researchers claim that these women withdrew from political and public activity immediately after realizing their objectives, and did not initiate a feminist agenda or challenge the existing gender arrangement.

It would appear that women are more prepared to fight in an organized manner for a general objective than for the status of women (Hellman and Rapoport, 1997). Social structuring would seem to be dominant through giving prominence to the dichotomies between the 'male' and 'female', and by these splits, helping to preserve the *status quo* and making change hard. In order to exit this trap, women must recognize the value of 'feminine' behavior, their legitimacy to behave in a 'masculine' manner, the power in cooperating with other women by formal and informal organization and the need for new definitions of the gender world in which we live.

In recent years too, with the start of the 21st century, the research literature (Herzog, 2000; Israeli, 2000; Women's Lobby, 2000; Gidron, Katz and Bar, 2001) still seems to indicate the same perceptual and social structures regarding the status of women (Herzog, 2000; Women's Lobby, 2000; Gidron et al., 2001; Israeli, 2001).

2.3 Gender equality – social, political and economic perceptions

A review of the theories mentioned in the research literature pertaining to the behavioral, social and political differences between males and females, will present the explanations for the social perceptions and the need for social correction as the basis for the appointment of the advisors and their integration at nodes of public influence.

Modern political-social history is, to a great extent, the result of the struggles of minorities, workers, ethnic and racial groups, and in the name of ideals of human equality wherein the fights are over the right to be included in the social order presented as universal (Marshall, 1950). The question of political, social and economic equality for women is anchored in the normative debate that developed in the modern, democratic era. The question is not about universalism of female discrimination in the

history of mankind, but about the new social order that grew following the great revolutions in the western world, a new economic and political order in which women had no place. During the 20th century, far-reaching changes occurred in gender roles, such as the inclusion of women in the education system, (including higher education), the massive entry to the labor force and community of political voters, and in certain places also the entry to political positions. Nevertheless, reality testifies to constant inequality on the basis of sex even at the end of the 20th century (Herzog, 1994). The need thus arises to examine the mechanisms that continue to preserve this order, and analyze the social and political powers that operate to change the gender order. Such distinctions will help to clarify the cultural-organizational and political environment in which the mayoral advisor on the status of women also operates.

The theories on the differences in social and political behavior between men and women offer several explanations. Researchers claim that the differences in the level of political involvement between men and women vary according to the level of aggression or assertiveness exhibited. These differences may be explained by the level of testosterone (Duverger, 1955). At the same time, advanced scientific research did not prove that, behind the feminine agreement to their social-political position, lay a biological difference (Ben Ziv, 1981; Doron, 1998). Another type of bio-political claim relates the lack of, or low, political readiness amongst women to periodic biological mechanisms (Kelly and Boutiller, 1978). The physiological claims raise the question of whether differences in political behavior between the two genders are innate or are the result of the human environment (Lowe, 1983). If these claims are accepted as valid, they leave no opening for the possibility of changing the political status of women (Ben Ziv, 1981; Doron, 1998).

Basically, it is difficult to find support for physiological claims. The research finds that most human characteristics are to be found in both sexes (Arieli, 1990).

According to the social explanations for female under-representation at nodes of decision-making, the status of women in society in general, and in politics in particular, is the result of interaction between social groups rather than the result of biological differences.

Prominent amongst the new concepts introduced to fruitful use following feminist thought, is the concept that apparently relates to territory. Many female researchers find the differentiation between the 'public level', defined as macro-organization, and the 'home level', defined as the

micro-organization, a suitable tool for their work. Many studies focus on the movement on a continuum and the ability of each gender group to move from one pole to the other (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974).

The dichotomous differentiation of the social world was first formulated by Aristotle. Social separatism is sexual and political. The differentiation between the private and the public domain is in accordance with the differentiation between males and females and between different areas of involvement (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984). Men are perceived as public and political creatures, while females are perceived as apolitical, home bodies.

This binary approach, representing the differences between the sexes as innate and therefore natural, is rooted in the modern industrial era, with the growth of capitalism and the rise of the bourgeoisie who introduced the new western-social order.

With the urbanization and bureaucratization processes of western society, the differentiation between the two spheres, the private and the public, was established and the institutions, laws and norms were determined accordingly. The assumption regarding the existence of two separate life spheres is accompanied by cultural assumptions, according to which each is based on different principles of social organization, intended to maintain diverse social functions. In other words, this differentiation embraces not only functional differentiation but also their evaluation (Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984).

A dichotomy between the genders accompanied this differentiation. The biological differences provide justification for the differences in social functioning, and enable presentation of the division of gender roles as natural. These cultural assumptions also create an unequal division of power and social prestige. According to this differentiation, the location of politics in the public-male world restrains women from public and political activity (Herzog, 1994).

The place of women in the private domain leaves them outside the political experience that is part of the public world. There is considerable importance to this location in defining the group's power, as will be reviewed later.

The studies indicate that the differentiation between the spheres is part of the hierarchical, political and ideological mechanism. The chasm between the 'private' and the 'public' becomes a principle that organizes daily life



and is a central factor in shaping people's basic identities. This is a cultural system that classifies the world, and guides people's desires, aspirations, choices and behaviours (Sacks, 1974; Elstain, 1981; Stacy and Price, 1981; Zemach and Peled, 1983; Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984; Rapaport, 1993; Herzog, 1994; Liran-Alper, 1994; Binyamin-Kurtz, 1995; Doron, 1998).

Accepting this separation as a behavioral norm leads men and women to different areas of activity, and also operates as a social block preventing people from entering the male world.

The empirical data demonstrate that constructing reality in terms of the gender dichotomy does not withstand the test of scientific validity. Political reality indicates that the force of this social mechanism in the structuring and control of the social order is beginning to be questioned. It should be noted that it is currently being replaced by other approaches that emphasize the structured market economy axis, instead of the private-public axis, *vis-à-vis* the values of traditional society.

Other explanations are situational, relating the detachment of women from the *foci* of power and influence to diverse environmental factors that influence their political activities. This approach places special emphasis on the role conflict that prevents the departure of women for political life due to the disparity between the ideal of family and the social reality (Kirkpatrick, 1974; Welch, 1977; Schramm, 1980; Foucault, 1986; Rapaport, 1993).

Delaying the date of entry to politics and public life and preferring motherhood is a female type of behavior verified by several studies (Lynn and Flora, 1973; Lee, 1976; Sapiro and Farah, 1980). Women are forced to wait to develop a career at a relatively late age, and therefore lack the practical, political knowledge, the connections, the political support, fame and recognition (Githens, 1977; Doron, 1998). It should be noted that the role conflict does not prevent mothers from dealing with a broad variety of voluntary activities that are not so constraining and do not involve personal upheaval (Sapiro and Farah, 1980).

Additional situational explanations are connected to the departure of women for work outside the home (Currel, 1974; Skard, 1981) together with the structure of educational-employment opportunities (Costantini and Craik, 1972; Steier, Oren, Elias and Levin-Epstein, 1998). The inequality between the sexes is rooted in structures, processes and practices of the labor market. This perception locates the inequality in

history as something that developed in a specific time and conditions, and can therefore be altered.

Hence, the phenomenon of distancing women from the centers of power and from senior managerial roles (Israeli, 1993). Attitudes towards genders are deeply embedded in culture. The male power is copied generation after generation through a system of covert assumptions regarding sex and gender, rooted in cultural debate, in social situations and in the soul of the individual, in ways such as androcentrism and gender polarity.

The messages regarding male preference are conveyed through a variety of socializing agents and mechanisms, and through them men and women internalize gender molds that affect the expectations of members of both genders, evaluation of their employees and their behavior.

Another academic explanation relates the female under-representation in politics to the political socialization process (Bourque and Grosholz, 1977; Kelly and Boutiler, 1978; Sapiro and Farah, 1980). The socialization explanation emphasizes the impact of early learning on political representation (Orum, Cohen, Grosmuck and Orum, 1974).

The messages directed towards the two genders support the stereotypical world perception that divides the social world into the private and the public realms. For hundreds of years male superiority was a patriarchal interest, since the authoritative family is the political microcosm of society; change in the status of the individual within this framework will express the change in society as a whole (Hyman, 1965; Israeli and Tabor, 1988).

Recent years have seen some decline in the evaluation of the explanation of socialization, and some researchers view it as myth more than empirical truth, since it tends to ignore the structural basis of inequality between the genders. The popular approach offers structural explanations that claim that the organizational-administrational and political system were created and institutionalized by men for men. These explanations, that rely on findings from the political science discipline, emphasize legal obstacles that, at the time, prevented women being involved in elections, and the informal blocks that delay women joining the *foci* of power in public organizations and political elites (Bourque and Grosholtz, 1977).

Despite the developments at the macro level that occurred in the 20th century, it would seem that only rarely did women advance to positions of decisive authority. Access to centers of power is still denied them (Herzog, 2000; Women's Lobby, 2000; Israeli, 2001).

The ability for political maneuvering fills a central role in professional advance, since it operates in hierarchical organizational frameworks. Control of the organization necessitates organizational assets such as membership of very powerful social networks, more than professional abilities.

The norms of the organizational culture do not encourage female mobility up the hierarchy. Male solidarity, based on close social networks, enables males to leave the females behind, and they are found at a markedly inferior position in everything connected to participating in the organization's political game (Herzog, 2000; Israeli, 2001).

The connection between the social networks and social mobility differs between males and females. The tendency towards male homosociability leads men to support other men, since they are rewarded by their acquaintanceships. Women meanwhile suffer from obstacles to their progress due to low visibility, their exclusion from informal communications networks and difficulty in finding a sponsor or mentor (Herzog, 1994).

Most studies on the informal structural variables rely on the American and British political systems (Duverger, 1955; Norris, 1933; Lovenduski, and Norris, 1993). These organizational politics, that create blocks, prevent the movement of women along the axis leading to the heart of the circle and to the *foci* of power and influence in organizations, are the lot of women in the work world and in the political public world.

Women in the administrative arena cope with contradictory sets of expectations. On the one hand, being a woman in a gender-based world, drags with it expectations and the responsibility to exhibit sensitivity to female issues, and to be a role model for the female population; on the other hand, women are expected and expect to be professional and must navigate contradictory identities.

Findings in the professional literature indicate that women see themselves as a high level political minority of outsiders and newcomers. In these positions they need to develop an alternative role, dissimilar to the male role in this domain, but also dissimilar to the traditional role of women.

The theory of social identity claims that women adopt 'male' practices and techniques in order to be accepted in a male environment (Macdonald, 1995; High-Pippert and Comer, 1988). Women are perceived as representing the female perspective, even without considering their expertise or interests, and are expected to speak for other women, rather than in their name alone (Kanter, 1977). Studies from the beginning of the 21st century indicate that women in senior positions fear being labeled with 'female' issues. According to his tokenism theory, they prefer to establish their professional status in general, and their senior administrative status in particular, before raising female issues, since they are a significant minority in most senior positions and thus experience the conditions of each minority group. This structural phenomenon has social significance, whose implications are notable on the social interaction in the organization. That same minority group is expected to experience strong pressure that intensifies the stereotypical behavior and attitudes (Herzog, 2000; Gidron et al, 2001; Israeli, 2001).

Many women feel informal isolation from being the minority. They are isolated from the informal social networks, and must balance the time invested in serving as a symbol for women, together with the other activities and with paying attention to the professional aspects of their role.

In political systems in which traditional, patriarchal values dominate, women will find it hard to develop a political career. In Scandinavia, for example, the areas of public-political specialization of women are perceived as having identical importance to those of men, a fact that explains their political success in these countries. Improvement in female representation in Scandinavian politics, and recently in France and England, was achieved following the application of a mechanism to assure representation. The argument around this issue, the readiness to adopt this policy and the extent of its implementation and success, reveal the basic attitudes common in a given society relative to cultural equality in general and to equality between the genders in particular (Nicholson, 1992; Lovenduski and Norris, 1993).

In some western countries, and notably in the United States, affirmative action plans have been implemented, whether due to the need to correct past discrimination, or whether due to the need to increase the demographic variety in the labor force in order to increase efficiency (Swirsky, 1989; Radai et al., 1995).

The demand to integrate women in formal politics and their representation there, are explained by women being interest groups that must consider the decision-making processes (Lister, 1997). Until the feminist awakening, they did not see themselves as a group with political interests. The demand for female representation at nodes of public strength, covertly includes not only the assumption that women have their own interests, but also that they are different from the male interest, with a contradictory and opposing tension. Hence, women themselves should be part of the decision-making process and not suffice with their demands being presented by others.

Extensive research literature has been written on women in politics in Israel and in other countries. It reviews the status and struggles of women in politics and tries to explain the social and structural reasons for this under-representation. Nevertheless, the subject remains marginal to the political and public agendas. From the research perspective, sufficient discussion of the changes in society and politics or of new phenomena seems to be lacking. This may be rooted in the changes occurring in this era that were supposed to lead to a breakthrough and improve the status of women. Herzog (2000), Gidron et al. (2001) and Israeli (2001) have difficulty explaining why, despite these changes and the glorification of women in politics, there has been no significant improvement in their status. Herzog (2000) believes that local politics has still not liberated itself from cultural concerns and social and political considerations that prevent equal representation for women in positions of power and influence.

This is the difference between the politics of presence and the politics of ideas.

It is possible to summarize the issue of the status of women and the public agenda by acknowledging the many studies that indicate that the boundaries between 'private' and 'public' have undergone many changes, while the distinction between them survives as a dominant, cultural cognitive mold (Elstain, 1981; Siltanen and Stanworth, 1984; Nicholson, 1992; Herzog, 2000; Israeli, 2001). In the mood of these attitudes, the character of the role of gender in society is shaped, as well as gender identities. These perceptions become the factor involved in women's chances to advance in the public sector in general and in politics in particular, and they also influence the negotiating ability in the social-public sector (Herzog, 1994, 1996).

Gender studies note the alternative arena for female activity at the *foci* of power in the public sector. It is directed to areas in which males are not interested. It was not involved with direct competition over positions of power and resources, and did not embrace demands for positions of power and partnership in decision-making.

The most prominent domain is voluntary activity, perceived as different from political activity since it does not entail the characteristics of a political-economic market. It is perceived as an expansion of the home activities, both in content and in the relative quality (Israeli, 1984; Bernstein, 1987; Fogel-Bijoi, 1992b; Cherny, 1998; Herzog, 2000; Israeli, 2001). Feminist research into voluntary activity indicates that women in western society laid the infrastructure for the welfare state. This innovative activity, that shaped policy and recruited people from the female-voluntary realm, was not defined as political activity, in contrast to male recruitment and organizational activity in political parties branches, perceived as distinct political activity.

Research presents local politics as the natural arena for the advance of women, and indeed, their representation in this domain is on the increase. If, at the start of the 20th century, female political-social activity was limited to charity organizations, it nowadays focuses on welfare, health and education, and recently also on the economic and political domains. The move from traditional female roles to a more liberal model is related to real changes in society and to the influence of the feminist revolution. Female representation in political issues seems to be socially correct, when a chance is offered to each sector of the population for representation and to reap social and economic benefit. Such steps have been observed and diagnosed as the continuation of the feminist revolution (Sapiro, 1981; Koren, 1998; Herzog, 1994; Liran-Alper, 1994; Gidron et al., 2001).

The location of women's organizations and their role in the advancement of women were studied at length. Some are classified as having a moderate feminist outlook, some as having an innovative feminine perception, and other large organizations as providing services with some sort of political connection. Women's organizations, such as WIZO (Women's International Zionist Organization), Na'amat (the Women's branch of the labor federation), Emunah (the religious Zionist women's organization) and the Women's Lobby work to broaden female representation and interests. Their activities focus on raising the subject to the public awareness, on training and on empowerment to advance

women in the political, economic, and social domains (Azmon, 1990; Doron, 1998).

Since achieving the right to vote, women have learned that a law alone is insufficient to cope with gender inequality. Women's organizations have raised many and new issues (including sexuality) to the social agenda and the political arena, together with a long list of subjects removed from the public debate by the cynical use of the claim of privacy and family.

Although women are not a numerical minority, their situation is similar to a minority group both at the level of analysis and from the perspective of the necessary strategies for change. In order to recruit women to public-political activity, the feelings of identification with women as a group, and the perception of justice should be intensified. The few opportunities open to women, at the highest levels of organizational hierarchy, increase the competition between and amongst women. Ever more women are starting to understand that the way to break through the 'glass ceiling' is to alter the method and broaden the opportunities open to them. Learning the rules of the political game will help them to reach positions of power in the political mechanisms (Israeli, 2000; Women's Lobby, 2000; Gidron et al., 2001).

In the past, functional and organizational separation between the genders distanced many talented women from *foci* of decision-making. It is therefore important to work towards integrating the female aspect in every part of political and public life, according to the mainstreaming principle.

Realizing strategies for the advancement of women demands integrated tactical development, both at the personal level and at the general systemic and organizational levels. Broad cooperation can be developed at the legislative level, such as developing election systems and establishing funds to support female candidates. However, key issues, such as methods of restraining competition between women, recruiting males to the struggle for the advancement of women in key positions, and integrating issues connected to the rights of women as an inseparable part of the struggle for advancing civil rights in Israel, must also be dealt with.

The awareness of women's groups to provide female representation is always subordinate to more important issues. In other countries, the gender gap factor forces the political parties to emphasize issues pertaining to the status of women in their party platforms. This and

women's rights should be at the center of the private and public awareness, to reinforce styles of voting that take it into consideration.

The advancement of women should be explored at two main levels of action:

1. Raising political-public awareness and recognizing the political structure in general.
2. Performance in the public systems, at the *foci* of power and decision-making frameworks that determines the social-public agenda in the country.

In order to integrate at decision-making hubs, women must familiarize themselves with, and understand, the sources of power in organizations.

The more females holding key positions, the greater the awareness of their unique problems and the higher the practical manifestation in the field.

Rhetorical strategy clarifies the fact that female under-representation should be raised repeatedly to the public agenda. Sometimes, the awareness itself operates as a mechanism.

Reality teaches that the greater the number of women at *foci* of decision-making, contributes directly to raising issues to the public agenda. The unique problems facing women in the public-political arena should be clarified in depth, while examining the optimal ways to encourage and advance women, and increase their representation and ability to influence in key mechanisms in the public sector.

The subject should be discussed from a broad perspective as part of the general, responsible social policy, in order to determine decisive attitudes and take decisions that bear a price from a clear and defined world perspective.

This literature review provides the general background to the theories discussed in the research literature regarding the perceptions of gender equality, perceptions intended to offer explanations of the behavioral, social and political differences between males and females. These are the factors that in fact encourage female under-representation at *foci* of power and decision-making in public life.

2.4 Gender perception in Israel

Israeli society is affected by the ideologies typical of the country that are most influential on the abilities of advisors on the status of women to alter deep-rooted perceptions and the structured gender order in this society. This is in addition to the accepted social-cultural insights common in the research literature regarding gender and the advancement of the issue.

This section will review the relevant Israeli legal aspects regarding gender equality, the historical background to the status of women in Israel, its reflection in Israeli culture and politics and the myth of gender equality underlying the perception of the status of women in Israeli society.

2.4.1 The legal aspect in Israel

The legal system plays a significant role in leading change in attitudes through legislation. It provides a basis for understanding the significance of the Local Authorities Law on the Appointment of Female Advisors on the Status of Women (2000).

The legal conception of equality related to the status of women as to an amorphous term used for people different from each other. It cannot be the subject of arithmetical equality. Equality, in this context, is the result of evaluation of an issue under consideration, rather than objective measurement. It is then affected by social assessment regarding what is desirable or correct.

The principle of equality as necessitating an equal approach to equals and a different approach to difference is an almost empty formula, since people differ from each other by their very nature. As long as the type of differences justifying a different approach are not determined, nothing is done.

In contrast, the principle of equality is likely to be a wonderful and very powerful tool for social change and for achieving social justice. Involvement with advancing equality must involve not only an examination of the principles and norms, but a careful examination of the reality, hence the legislative and legal system should need numerical and statistical data to prove the existence of discrimination.

In furthering equality, it is necessary to differentiate between the issues whose main importance is practical, and for a broad female public, and issues whose main importance is symbolic. Their direct numerical impact is limited and applies mainly to women from the social elites.

The reciprocal relations between the practical aspect and the symbolic aspect should be considered. Thus the struggle to realize equality should embrace these two fronts, since the impact at the message and perception levels is likely, in the long run, to influence the practical-behavioral level. Similarly, changes in reality, such as a significant increase in the number of women located in senior positions in public administration in general, and in social politics in particular, are likely to influence the change in prejudice with respect to adapting women to leadership roles. But one should be aware that under the cover of being politically correct, prejudices are likely to occur that shape behavior. Reality thus determines the social condition, as manifested in field data rather than norms or declarations.

A review of the declarative-legislative aspect, as expressed in Israel's legal system, reflects particular complexity in the legal status of women in this country due to the special character of its legal history.

Legal concepts of equality seem to reflect the social dilemma in Israel. The demand for equality may be viewed as a demand to remove the distortions emanating from the contradictory perception of equality with reality. On the one hand, it strengthens the trend towards economic equality for women and in their status at work, while on the other hand, the changes in the role of women can be considered undesirable, due to the diverse roles within the family, society and work.

Israel's Declaration of Independence in 1948 is one of the first legal documents of any legal system that presented the concept of equality for women in explicit terms. It provided Israeli women with unqualified recognition of the right to equal consideration, although this recognition had no legal-constitutional validity according to which the laws of the State could be declared illegal and void.

In 1951, the Equal Rights for Women law was passed by the *Knesset*, assuring women equality in the eyes of the law. This law, like the Declaration of Independence, only prevents discrimination by the State but does not limit discriminatory acts by private companies, organizations or individuals. Thus the influence of these guarantees for equality is extremely limited, its main achievement to be found in improving the

status of married women (rather narrow coverage of the issue of discrimination) (Israeli et al., 1982; Radai et al., 1995).

The non-involvement of the Israeli legal system to prevent discrimination in the private sector, apart from the labor laws, was rather typical of the approach of most Western European countries. The only field in the private sector in which the legal system intervened to prevent discrimination was in employment (Equal Wage Law, 1964). The Equal Opportunities Law (Government of Israel, 1981) offers women a broad range of rights to prevent discrimination in employment, but is not a reform in the existing terms of discrimination. These declarations do not try to compete with the enormous problems in proving discrimination when being accepted to a position, in progress up the professional ladder or in firing employees.

Women in Israel enjoy special protection in various domains, such as military service, employment, alimony and social security, that can be divided into three categories:

1. Limitational protection – that defines in advance women's freedom of choice;
2. Protection that preserves stereotypes – based on the image of the female role, as determined by society;
3. Particular rights – awarded to women by legislation.

These protections stem from the deep-rooted ideologies, central in Israeli society and notably from the other patriarchal patterns of social structuring of the female and male roles in the Israeli collective. This differentiation will be clarified in the discussion of the myth of equality in Israel (section 2.6).

Such special protection was attacked by women's organizations in Israel, and even in Europe and America, claiming that it immortalizes the stereotypes of the inferior position of women and limits their opportunities, with an additional element of discrimination against women. The protection awarded women in practice should be examined, prior to disqualifying them in the name of this philosophical claim (Israeli et al., 1982; Radai et al., 1995).

The review of the literature and the research process will prove that when the legislator executes his obligations, the realization of the principle in reality is largely dependent on the interpretation awarded to the legislator's declaration.

But it is important to emphasize and prove that also for reasons of legitimacy and influence on public attitudes, it is essential for the legislator to present his opinion. The role of the legal system is manifested not only as an institution that reflects advanced moods, but also as an institution making its way. Equality for women has become a subject in the domain of broad social agreement at the declaratory level, both in Israel and globally, with which none dares to disagree. This fact awards legal and constitutional creativity considerable space to maneuver.

This introduction provides the background for exploring the activities of mayoral advisors on the status of women from the legal perspective.

2.5 Historical background

The position of women in Israel is influenced by the pioneer movement and its founders, and is in accordance to Jewish tradition and religion. With the waves of immigration to the country at the beginning of the 20th century, women came ready to equally share the burden for the establishment of the State, in which process values of physical work and equality for women were an inseparable part. Women in Israel performed in contradiction to stereotypes customary in Europe, and saw settling the country as an expression of readiness and the need to redefine and develop new models (Ben Ziv, 1981).

While the global feminist struggle for the freedom of women developed, the national element of the effort for national liberation was added, with the entire campaign influenced by the traditional perceptions of the status of women.

As early as the beginning of the 20th century, several feminist organizations were established that provided the framework for achieving rights, work, training, legal help and so on. At the same time, the representation of women in the *Knesset* and its institutions stood at 9-10%, remaining permanent, with few fluctuations, till now. Women's representation in local authorities is still negligible, accounting for 1% of the heads of local authorities in the 70s, with no woman a city mayor. The world feminist struggle resulted in the founding of a woman's party in

Israel in 1977, but which disintegrated several years later (Ben Ziv, 1981).

Notable change occurred in western countries in the 80s towards greater female representation. In 1989, female representation in Scandinavian parliaments reached 30-50%, while the proportion of women in the Israeli *Knesset* in those years reached a low of 5-7% (Azmon, 1990).

There was no change in the social profile of female, elected political representatives in all the election campaigns and their representation in the *Knesset*, in political parties and many other institutional systems. They remained a minority. The increased strength of religious parties, that served for a long time as the balance in Israeli politics, led to their threat against allowing women to fulfill ministerial positions.

The professional literature indicates local politics as a natural arena for female activity, for which reason their low representation in Israel in this sphere until recently is surprising (Ezioni-Halevi and Illy, 1993; Herzog, 1994).

The Israeli elections of November 1998 indicate the attempts of powerful, capable, educated women, ready to contribute, to enter the local political system. Most of them were new to the field, bringing with them innocence, inexperience in administrative positions, but eager to change, move and correct things. They also competed for the position of mayor or head of the local authority. Even in the Arab sector the number of women competing is unprecedented. However, despite the many candidates (about 20) in the many local authorities and cities, only two women have been elected as mayors (in Natanya and Herzliya). The national political system, however, shows little change. The condition of women remains as it was, with promises of change.

Female representation in the *Knesset* or parliament symbolizes the degree of realization of the democratic concept with Israel lagging behind most other democratic European countries.

The representation of women in Israel is low at most levels – national, party and local (Herzog, 1994). In the early years after the establishment of the State, female representation in the *Knesset* saw a stable 9.1%, after which it declined to 7.5% in the 60s, to 6.5% in the 70s, and only after movement in the level of representation in the 80s did the level increase to 9.1% in the early 90s (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999).

Table no. 1: Women in the *Knesset*, 1949-2003

<i>Knesset</i> election year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 3	1 4	15	16
	4 9	5 1	5 5	5 9	6 1	6 5	6 9	7 3	7 7	8 1	8 4	8 8	9 2	9 6	99	03
No. of women	1 1	1 1	1 1	9 0	1 0	9 0	8 0	8 0	8 0	9 0	9 0	7 0	1 1	9 0	15	18
Percent age of women	9. 1	9. 1	9. 1	7. 5	8. 3	7. 5	6. 6	6. 6	6. 6	7. 5	7. 5	5. 8	9. 1	7. 5	12. 5	15

(Source: www.Knesset.gov.il)

The percentage representation of women in the parties and their institutions is also low. A clear trend may be observed in the higher percentage representation in the broad party institutions relative to the limited parties themselves. In the former, where there is less political power, their representation is higher, which, one may assume, will necessarily lead to their increased representation in the more limited, inner institutions (Herzog, 1994).

Ruling parties that rely on a broad electoral public also of necessity express the interests of broader groups within the population. (Ben Ziv, 1981). This fact is manifested in the female representation in the labor party, for a long time the ruling party in Israel. This party afforded greater representation to women than other parties (in which the party platform also played a part) and is particularly true of the local authorities (Herzog, 1994).

Female representation in local authorities is also minuscule. In the 70s, women accounted for 1% of the heads of local government. There was not a single woman amongst the 31 mayors or deputy mayors, and only 3% of the municipal councils were women. Of the 68 local authority heads there was one woman (1.5%), while women accounted for 5% of the deputy mayors and council members (Ben Ziv, 1981). The 1998 government elections show 15% (240) of those elected to the local authorities were women, an increase of 4% compared to the 1993 elections. Now, women are to be found in 70% of the local authorities, and two have been elected as mayors.

The data indicate a drop in the number of political party candidates and an increase in the number of women competing in independent lists (only 17% for the labor party compared to 44% in the previous decade, while in

the *Likud* party the figures were 10% compared to 20% in the previous decade). In the *Meretz* and *Yisrael Be'Aliya* parties there was an increase in the number of women competing for places, while in the Right wing and religious parties the number was negligible (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001).

It should be emphasized that in all the *Knesset* election campaigns, bar the end of the 80s, the female representation in the *Knesset* was higher than in the local authorities.

The situation of women in the economic realm is dismal – the ratio of women in the labor force is now 43%, while the number of female managers in the Israeli economy is only 19%. Many managerial positions filled by women are in secondary areas - legal counsel, finances and human resources. Managers do not rise from these fields. Women usually fill low to medium grade positions. The ratio of women on Boards of Governors has been 2% for decades, but affirmative action law raised their number to 20% (Women's Lobby, 1997).

Six of the ten largest public companies in the Israeli economy have no female directors. There sometimes are female legal advisors, while in four companies there are no female directors and in the rest they account for 10-20%. The number of women employed in these companies is usually half the number of the males, depending on the type of company, and there is not a single female senior executive officer heading the pyramid.

The salaries of women are lower than those of males, and the number of females whose salary is close to that of the males is low.

At the political level, few women fill ministerial positions in the *Knesset*. The paucity of women in ministerial positions in Israel positions the country in 170th place globally with respect to the number of women serving in government. Women are not members of the more prestigious and important *Knesset* parliamentary committees, such as the Finance Committee and the Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee (till the recent elections), and as noted, few have been Ministers (Ben Ziv, 1981; Herzog, 1994).

Financing public activities is an important factor for every politician – controlling resources is an important source of power. With the establishment of the State of Israel the financial aspect became less

important in electing politicians, while the social connections and family closeness were the main source of strength behind them.

The 1969 Party Financing Law led to diverting the importance of social connections to the subject of financing (Koren, 1998). Technological developments and the increased importance of the communications media emphasize the centrality of this aspect today. Financing provides the candidates with the ability to advertise themselves and appear in the media, thus affording national exposure.

Here, too, males have an advantage over females entering the field at a later age, forced to seek financing for their political activities, since recruiting money needs information, social connections and experience. From this perspective, women who wish to run in political parties should do so in political frameworks since the personal election system needs considerable financial resources.

Some view the transition to the primaries system as a step to the detriment of women, since this system needs much money in addition to power and political status.

The lack of female experience in this domain, too, will harm them should they wish to organize themselves in a women's party framework. The 1969 Party Financing Law (Koren, 1998) is a barrier to the entry of new parties – it helps existing parties to preserve their status while new parties are budgeted only if they manage to get elected to the *Knesset*

Knesset candidates must deposit “entrance money”; they are likely to remain in financial debt if they are not elected. A historical review shows that new parties lacking serious financial resources did not manage to get elected to the *Knesset*, even if they were headed by a known public figure.

New parties, in fact, pay a higher price for their *Knesset* seats than existing parties. Women should therefore run in known frameworks, entering the system through an established set-up rather than establishing an independent party (Doron, 1998).

In contrast to social and economic domains, women enter the political world at a relatively late age. The profile of women in politics presents educated women aged 40 and older, whose children have grown up and can now devote themselves to this new area for considerable amounts of time. But the entry of women to the field at a relatively late age is a weak

opening point. They have to face experienced politicians, who now wish to exploit their position and enjoy power rather than sharing it with recently arrived competitors.

This late exposure of women also serves as a focus for scientific research exploring the diverse aspects of this phenomenon. Basically, women are depicted as lacking basic motivation to enter the political world, which seems to them to be masculine, foreign, powerful, and sometimes unethical.

Furthermore, the Israeli family cell lacks gender equality due to cultural, historical and causal reasons; the education system preserves this equality.

Many women avoid turning to public activity since, for them, it is a field additional to work and running a household and the list of tasks they must perform only lengthens. The children's short school day customary in Israel forces them to be at home in the afternoon, at the very times when political activity occurs.

The advancement track in Israeli politics is also inconvenient to women, who avoid entering politics due to personal and family constraints. Entering at a later age, when the children are older, women must develop connections and recruit resources, while males their age are already networked and well placed.

An additional track – that of the move from senior positions, mainly in the military – is also almost closed to women since few fill the military upper echelons and defense positions.

The track of the transfer of women from local activity to national activity is not effective for women due to the relative advanced age at which they begin to develop a career. The possible way open to them is through women's organizations. But party branch activities are more convenient, suitable to women since they occur close to home. The path to the political peak is distant and wearying, and thus only a few women make their way to the pinnacle (Azmon, 1991; Doron and Shenkar, 1998; Herzog and Schreiber, 1998).

In the discussion over awareness of the place of women in politics, the need to review women's activities for women under the heading of a women's party should be reviewed. Political rights were awarded women as early as the Third Zionist Congress in 1899 (an impressive date when

compared to the right to vote awarded women in Switzerland only in 1971). At the same time, settlement in Israel at the beginning of the century encountered opposition from the ultra-orthodox groups to affording women political rights. The women's organizations that were founded then worked mainly in charity. With the British Mandate in Palestine, local organizations were founded in 1918, each of which worked to achieve the objectives important mainly to local women.

The first national women's organization was founded in 1919 on the basis of local urban organizations. It was non-political and its objective was to achieve gender equality (Doron, 1998). At this time, several other women's organizations were established that worked to achieve equal rights mainly in the labor market, for professional training and to prevent discrimination. They even served as identification frameworks with both other women and with the Zionist movement (Ben Ziv, 1981).

The first women's party was founded after the establishment of the State of Israel in the 1949 elections that competed for seats in the First *Knesset*. The objective was to assure the rights of women.

Analysis of the voting shows several facts – women hardly vote for women, they are not a homogeneous group with identical attitudes or status, and the gender equality issue is not sufficient to develop and establish unity in voting. Most of the women are also under the influence of their husbands, and, loyal to them, they vote like them. Later studies conclude that female representation by and for women is not a sufficiently attractive reason and does not attract women to vote for women.

These conclusions were learned only years later, and led to the establishment of an independent women's movement prior to the elections for the 9th *Knesset* (Doron, 1998). The intention was to work for women in establishing a unified female front, since the State failed in this. The political platform called for gender equality and related to the status and rights of housewives, salaried single-parent mothers, women living in poverty, violence, young girls in distress, soldiers, prostitutes and female prisoners. The platform also related to the Women's Equal Rights Law, issues of marriage and divorce, parenthood in regular and in single-parent families and tried to cope with aspects such as the female image and female health, changing the image in education and children's rights. As noted, this party disintegrated after a short time (Ben Ziv, 1981).

The important topic arising in the context of the women's party is the awareness of the subject, despite the party's disintegration. Additional parties that arose in the past due to the need of a minority for representation in the *Knesset* usually disintegrated, vanished or were buried in the existing parties (Koren, 1998). But despite women not having representation in female political parties, there is nowadays awareness of the female issue and voice in all large parties, and there seems to be an increase, if not at all levels of representation, then certainly in the degree of awareness.

Despite the poor representation of women in the *Knesset*, there is broad women's activity in the background, without any political connotations. The Women's Lobby works on the legislative level to advance the status of women; the feminist movement deals with violence against women; *Na'amat* is nowadays more feminist than before and *WIZO* works towards women's equality (Koren, 1998). Azmon (1990) sees the activities of these organizations as a catalyst to further innovative ideas and their absorption in political frameworks. The parties fear resting on their laurels and are ready to absorb new ideas that will afford them a broad representation framework (Azmon, 1990).

One of the difficulties facing the cohesion of women into one agreed framework is their disagreement over common ideas and a shared path. Feminist women, or those who see themselves today as such, define the meaning of feminism in different ways, and do not agree over a feminist image that represents feminism as they see it. Some view the meaning of feminism as a start of a struggle and demonstrations, others view it passively, not seeing external struggles as the be all and end all, while others define post-feminism from the perspective of taking responsibility.

Israeli (1999) claims there is no post-feminism in Israel, since this would mean that feminism has achieved its objectives and we are in the next stage; the country is rather pre-feminist. She asserts that most women suffer from significant inequality at work and in the family, and therefore the subjects of violence towards women or female representation should not yet be discussed. This topic occupies only a small group within the entire female sector.

Some view feminism as a general struggle to achieve equality without differentiating between political background, whether left or right; others claim that feminism originates in equality for all minorities, with no room for leftist opinions, for example.

Another factor that inhibits cohesion is the behavioral pattern of the "Queen Bee", defining women holding senior positions in a company or party as preventing their colleagues from advancing in their positions due to the fear of a threat to their status. This type, that prevents women from developing a team spirit and advancing, is an independent female product rather than a male or chauvinist bastion.

At the same time, feminist women in key positions, such as journalists, members of the *Knesset*, members of local authorities or in women's organizations, are aware nowadays of the need to bring the subject to the public awareness and agenda, by definition leading to achievements in their favor.

Local politics are presented in some studies as the natural arena for the advancement of women – close to home and more convenient politically. A tendency exists towards the increase in female representation in this field, with more women participating in 70% of the local authorities, and two female mayors.

Israeli society is under constant threat to its survival, and life there, together with a constant threat of war, enhance male facets and limit the female aspects to the family field. If, at the start of the 20th century, women's social-political activity was limited to charity organizations, their involvement is now in the areas of welfare, health, education, and recently also economics and the law. The contestants are usually educated, intellectuals, professionals, bringing with them innocence, enthusiasm and the desire to contribute to society.

Women who turn to politics usually start their activities in women's organizations, in party branches in their residential areas, or through voluntary work usually close to home. This activity is usually combined with acquiring education, raising children, and only later do they turn to creating a career (Herzog, 1994).

Liran-Alper (1994) claims that women in Israel adapted to their inferior status and found some compensation in the delusion of their power at home. Thus the entry of women to politics is in slow and measured steps, since this area contradicts their social role and self-image in which they themselves believe. Not seeing themselves till now as committed to these subjects both socially and from a value perspective, only a few enter politics.

Some relate the transfer from the traditional female roles to the more liberal model to real change in society and to the influence of the feminist revolution. One can see herein a sign of national maturity, since one of the conditions of defining a political regime as democratic is the ability for the minorities to organize themselves politically. Female representation (or minority groups) in political domains seems correct socially, wherein every sector has the chance for representation and reaping social and economic benefit (Sapiro, 1981; Koren, 1998).

Such steps have also been observed in other western democracies, and diagnosed as the continuation of the feminist revolution. The feminist breakthrough occurs first on the local level, proceeding later to national politics. In northern European countries, this procedure is backed by legislation that pushed to award equal opportunities to women in national politics. The steps taken in western democracies influence and are felt well in Israel, even if several years later.

2.6 The myth of equality in Israel

The condition of women in Israeli politics, as summarized in this review, lies in the deep cognitive patterns existing in this society. The review of the myth of equality in Israel will clarify the factors for women's symbolic representation in Israeli politics.

The myth of gender equality in Israel is fed by diverse sources, such as the history of settlement in Israel, women's organizations, kibbutz ideology, the Declaration of Independence and military recruitment. A direct implication of this myth is that women, as a group, did not perceive themselves as discriminated against by the system, did not believe they had a different political agenda, and did not develop styles of political behavior different from the male styles (Israeli, 1984; Bernstein, 1987; Fogel-Bijoi, 1992a, 1997; Herzog, 2000).

'Feminist' issues entered the public agenda when they were awarded a different framework of the general social problem, or were recognized as legitimate problem (Israeli and Tabor, 1988; Azmon, 1990; Yishai, 1995).

The hegemonic debate in Israel, that compares Israel to a liberal western democracy, prevented any national discussion of the social practice that defines the location of males and females. The structural myths of Israeli women being like western women were at the center of the debate. They viewed the basic problems pertaining to the social

location of women as marginal problems created by women who do not belong the Israeli social consensus, preventing this problem becoming one in terms of civic or civil rights.

Most of the opposition to political equality of women comes from religious circles (Herzog, 1994). Women are not considered a factor that should be considered, neither for legitimacy nor as a political force.

Women were not perceived as an integral part of the public world, as autonomous entities with rights and obligations in the public political arena. Their belonging was a function of being mothers, wives and daughters of men.

The binary perception of the world subordinates women to traditional roles. This also appears from the, apparently, most egalitarian legislation: the Military Service Law (1949) and the Women's Equal Rights Law (1981). In both, motherhood is that which awards women their equal civil status, while pushing them to the fringes of the public world (Israeli, 1984; Israeli and Tabor, 1988; Herzog, 1996; Yishai, 1997).

In recent years, awareness of the lack of equality between the genders in Israeli society has increased, and consequently the feeling of the need to change and correct matters. In this process, started by non-institutional feminist organizations already in the 1970s, the myth of the freedom of women in Israel was shattered. This, for many years, had confused the inequality in the national awareness and the private awareness of every woman (Fogel-Bijoi, 1992b; Shlaski, 2000).

Starting in the 70s, the number of non-institutional women's organizations in Israel grew, together with institutional organizations. Institutional women's organizations function in accepted organizational frameworks, and their social message is the advancement of women and improving their status, while supporting women as mothers, wives and partners in making a living, according to the national order of priorities.

In contrast, the strategy of non-institutional women's organizations is through the presentation of an alternative female image, and challenging the national order of priorities, that immortalizes women being pushed to the fringes. The message is one of women's liberation from male values and structural system. However, although the competitive encounter between these organizations managed to lead to change in the status of women in Israel, there is not yet any higher commitment to gender equality, due, mainly, to the influence of the Jewish religion, that

encompasses many patriarchal elements, and due to the lifestyle that developed around the constant concern for problems of national security and military service (Fogel-Bijoi, 1987, 1992a; Azmon, 1990).

These are the two main ideologies and practices in Israeli society, responsibility for structuring males and females as distinct social creatures with diverse social roles, as a result of which they have different styles of participation in the Israeli collective (Berkovich, 1997; Rapaport and Elor, 1997; Sasson-Levi, 1997).

The patriarchal style in Israel is copied and reproduced in legal and political arrangements that do not separate State and religion. As a result, women are enchained in patriarchal frameworks, and distanced from participation in public life and religious services under the umbrella of State laws.

Women are perceived as representing the collective, and as responsible for national continuity. Women's chances in politics are greatly influenced by the centrality of the army in Israeli society. The army is one of the main gender reproducing institutions in Israeli society. This is a society that spreads to all areas of life and participates in their cohesion. Military thought and considerations are perceived as most suitable for managing the country, which also guides political decisions and determines the order of priorities in all domains. The fact that women cannot translate military experience to a political resource has notable procedural significance. Subordinating various considerations to military thought is one of the prominent characteristics of Israel life. It is also one of the most prominent factors for impelling a variety of special issues, in which women tend to be more involved, to the fringes.

The Israeli political debate, focusing on issues of peace and security, splits the entire society as well as the women (Kimmerling, 1993b; Herzog, 1994; Azmon, 1997; Gidron et al., 2001). Women have always enjoyed symbolic representation in Israeli politics. On the one hand, Israel recognizes women as a social category, but a large part of this recognition does not stem from the perception of civil equality but through accepting the traditional role of women as mothers and wives as obvious.

The common perception was that women have a minority status whose representation must be assured. But like every minority, representation is symbolic. The traditional image of women is perceived as far from any

involvement in public or political life (Constantini and Craig, 1972; Sharfman, 1988; Constantini, 1990; Binyamin-Kurtz, 1995).

Feminist thought reached Israel in the early 70s (Shelef, 1975; Aloni, 1976; Israeli, 1982). The establishment of the Foundation for Assisting Women in 1977, the publication of the Namir Report in 1978 and the establishment of the Women's Lobby in 1984 afford milestones in the development of feminism in Israel.

In the mid-70s, feminist initiative began to receive support from the academic world. Research into the status of women in Israel indicated discrimination and deprivation towards women. Debates on the issue began in, and outside, the academic world (Fogel-Bijoi, 1997) together with the development of feminist trends, whether liberal (Israeli, 1984, 1990), socialist (Bernstein, 1987) or radical (Swirsky, 1984).

Activity in the academic world helped to support feminist politics. At the beginning of the 21st century, feminist research blossomed and was integrated in various research disciplines, while a study track focusing on this issue developed. Gender research intensified and the quality of studies dealing with gender aspects in organizations, in the labor market and at general administrative levels increased (Haberfeld, 1987; Israeli, 1990, 1992, 1999, 2001; Maor, 1997). Study of the implications of the gender aspect on the labor world deals with two main phenomena:

1. Gender separation existing in the labor world, i.e., separate occupations for "male" and "female" groups.
2. "The glass ceiling", i.e., the invisible barrier preventing the advance of women to senior administrative positions.

Since overt discrimination is illegal, it is conducted in covert and sophisticated way. Occupations defined as "female" as well as senior positions present obstacles making the advance of women on the ladder of opportunity difficult (Israeli, 1982, 1990, 1999; Fogel-Bijoi, 1992b).

Obstacles in the administrative domain may be divided into three main groups:

1. Centralized control of the economy
2. Keeping women from power networks
3. The gender trend in administration (Israeli, 1999)

Dividing the labor world according to gender affords one of the social practices through which power relationships are developed, copied on the basis of gender (Israeli, 1981, 1990, 1997; Fogel-Bijoi, 1998a).

Studies conducted in Israel present structural and social factors, as well as professional and sectorial segregation in partial explanation for the salary disparity between the genders. Another explanation for this phenomenon is connected to the separation between positions in the same field of employment (Lewin-Epstein and Stier, 1987; Maor, 1997; Swirsky, Connor, Swirsky and Yeheskeli, 2001).

The findings indicate that, in the world of employment, women are well represented in clerical positions, in semi-professional positions and in the services, but their representation is low in administration, industry and politics (Israeli, 1979, 1999; Marini and Brinton, 1984; Charles, 1992). Males and females enjoy a variety of rights and rewards, separate scales of advance and in most cases also divergent levels of autonomy and responsibility (Efroni, 1980; Bielby and Baron, 1986).

A further lack of proportion is manifested in hierarchical segregation, in which males and females are employed in different ranks of the organizational hierarchy. This inequality between some of the women in the labor world and others in administrative positions, or in certain fields of employment considered "masculine", enjoys considerable public attention and attempts to alter it. But despite these efforts, the entry of women to administrative positions remains a slow process (Israeli, 1990).

Many researchers discuss the low representation of women in the Israeli public-political system. Their notable exemption from senior positions in these sectors testifies to their low influence in the *foci* of power central to public life in Israel (Brichta, 1978; Yishai, 1978; Weiss and Yishai, 1984; Arianne, 1985; Sharfman, 1988; Azmon, 1990; Buber-Agassi, 1991; Herzog, 1987, 1994; Liran-Alper, 1994; Binyamin-Kurtz, 1995; Ezioni-Halevi, 1997).

The Local Authorities Law (2000) was intended to assure raising the issues associated with the status of women to the public agenda and to influence the decision-makers when determining policy regarding advancing women in the public, political and social system. This theoretical review of the perception of gender in Israel affords the background to exploring the method of appointing mayoral advisors, the perception of their job and their functioning on the background of the existing pattern.

2.7 Policy and public administration

The activities of female advisors in the local authorities' organizational framework demands understanding the mechanisms in which they operate, familiarity with the attributes of public administration, and of their policy- and decision-making processes. These afford the background to examining their ability to integrate in these systems, to influence and to shape the public agenda that locates the issue of female advancement in the social-political awareness. They further contribute to allocating resources to advancing the subject in public administration.

For public policy to be implemented, it must be based on budget. The many interests involved in determining the budget make it a political document, that reflects the balance of powers active in determining policy (Doron, 1998). In other words, the budget in public administration is that which determines, in fact, whether a particular policy program can be implemented politically. A review of the pertinent literature will be presented below.

This subject is examined through the functioning and impact of mayoral advisors on the status of women on the allocation of resources in the local authority for advancing their status.

Until now, the connection between determining policy and its actual results has not been explored, and only in recent years has research focused on the implementation stage. This thesis exploits the research approaches to policy application with respect to exploring the Local Authorities Law (2000) and its implementation in public administration.

This chapter, defining the theoretical concepts from the world of public administration, is important for understanding the connection between the phenomenon and the advisors' role. The sources of power in the organizations will similarly be clarified, focusing on the attributes of the local authority as an organizational environment in which the advisor attempts to lead processes of change regarding the advancement of women.

2.7.1 What is public policy?

The review of public policy affords the research background to the development of policy as a factor shaping social-political-economic objectives. This review will help understand these processes that occur in

the local authority, and the impact of the appointment of a mayoral advisor on the status of women there.

Public policy and its analysis are new areas in political science. Public policy lacks a uniform definition and its various definitions relate to it from diverse aspects.

Political science is a new interdisciplinary science in its developmental stage. Researchers in various domains, such as sociology, political science and economics, deal with policy research and analysis. This is the source of the diverse aspects of public policy. Involvement with this domain began already in the 1950s, but interest in it as an area for study began only after the social-economic policy of the 1960s in the USA did not realize the objectives (Doron, 1998).

Many and different definitions have been formulated regarding policy. Researchers such as Simon, Smithburg and Thompson (1991) define it as determining objectives, and claim that the important aspect of policy is the content and social significance. These are likely to be manifested in disagreement in the society in which the values, ideologies and conflicting interests polemize. The purposes and directions of policy implementation, as a definition, are also good regarding the local authorities.

Most American political scientists focus professional attention primarily on the processes of public administration, when they differentiate between policy decisions and ongoing decisions. Public policy is the result of government activity (Dearlove, 1973).

Key concepts appearing in researchers' definitions are connected to social policy, which is a broad concept that includes welfare policy. It deals mainly with determining the social resources, and with social justice and setting criteria for distributing them. The criteria for this are determined to a considerable extent by the perception of social justice in society and by the power struggle within diverse groups (Sharanski, 1970; Albeck, 1988; Ben Hur, 1988). Additional definitions of social policy include the principles or methods of action intended to influence the general quality of life in society and the living conditions of the individual. They refer to the distribution of resources and opportunities within the community and view their distribution as determining the social structure (HMSO, 1975; Government of Holland, 1977).

Economic-socialist approaches emphasize the government's intervention in the social system by determining orders of priorities and planning the activities to divide resources in society (Levi, 1988).

Some researchers claim that public policy is not the result of government actions alone, but of various organizations and groups in society that affect the decision-making procedure. It is one of researching the definition of social, economic and political objectives by the legislative and the executive bodies. Politics is the sum of all the struggles over policy or in the context of dealing with policy, as observed in the structures of the *foci* of policy-making in local authorities (Lowi, 1972; Doron, 1988; Gordon, 1992). Policy is that which determines if politics will influence the public agenda and the distribution of resources and opportunities.

2.8 The processes of determining public policy

Determining public policy is a complex, ongoing dynamic process, in which a variety of departments participate with different contributions to the process. It determines the decision regarding guidelines for future activities, especially for government units. These guidelines are intended, formally, to achieve the public benefit through optimal means (Dror, 1966). This definition embraces the specific characteristics of determining public policy, whose main elements are dynamism, complexity and integrating diverse *foci* in the process of decision-making with implications for the future.

Some identify the concept of decision-making with the concept of determining policy, however, it is customary to see the second term as more general, determining a line or direction as a particular activity, while decision-making occurs, admittedly, in its framework, but refers to specific decisions, intended for implementation and supported by sanctions for non-adherence (Ariel, 1976).

Three approaches exist through which the public decision-making process can be examined (Allison, 1992):

- 1 The rational approach
- 2 The organizational approach
- 3 The political approach

1. The basic assumption of the rational approach is that a person's behavior is directed towards an objective. Such behavior is characterized by consistency in the choice of a path to the objective and in applying the principles, in order to choose the best alternative. This behavior is motivated by the clear recognition and a cold calculation of the advantages and disadvantages of a particular decision.

Simon's (1976) rational decision-making model is derived from this approach, according to which a rational decision is the choice of an alternative that will best serve the objective, wherein the decision is the result of the process, and the involvement in the process is no less important than the examination of the type of decision. This model serves as the basis for the economic model, based on cost-benefit standards, but aroused much criticism regarding its adaptation to reality.

2. The organizational approach relates to the question of how decisions are taken in a public organization, i.e., how many people participate in the decisions? How great is the hierarchy within the unit? How specific are the definitions of relationships to authority? The incremental model and the satisfaction model derive from this approach.

The incremental model asserts that public policy develops gradually, through cautious marginal change. Every deviation from past policy makes recruiting support for that policy more difficult (Lindblom, 1959).

The physical and psychological limitations of human ability to create alternatives, collect information and solve problems, limit the decision-making process. Human behavior is aimed at dividing the problems into small tasks and treating each one separately. The decision maker chooses a satisfactory, rather than the best method. Decision makers do not operate in a vacuum, but within an organization. The organization has standard styles of behavior. The decisions are influenced by the organization's routine behavior. Organizations try to function under conditions of uncertainty and prefer to consider the sums of decisions. They seek a satisfactory mode of action and prefer to take one step after the other until they reach a satisfactory alternative.

3. The political-governmental approach assumes that the policy-making process is a game in which people and sub-organizations participate – groups with a certain element of autonomy. Public policy is the result of a competitive game between groups party to the process. The game entails an element of covert and overt struggle between the parties over what each believes. In order to

explain how a particular policy was accepted, according to this approach, the games, the participants and the rules of the game must be identified (Elazar, 1975). The world of policy is a stage – the coalitions and the levels of compromise must be located.

The decision-making process occurs within defined channels or rules of the game, and the degree to which the channels of influence are open to speakers of interest groups, members of parliament, and representatives of the newspapers should be clarified. Understanding the process of determining policy means understanding the weight each power node has in the final decision. If the nodes of power, whose ideology is manifested in policy, are located, their sources of strength should be sought (whether this is knowledge, expertise, money, formal or informal authority, charisma and so on). It is important to understand how these nodes of power use the channels of influence in the rules of the game and on many other levels.

Public policy is basically a political process. It remains such even in cases in which the choice of a particular policy and its implementation are closely connected to professional expertise. Political dynamics is the power that motivates public policy.

In view of the stiff competition between the alternatives, the process of shaping the public agenda becomes a central topic, and the public agenda is dynamic. A list of subjects with which policy makers cope changes daily according to the environmental constraints and changes in public preference.

The bureaucratic mechanism influences public policy by determining rules of operation, counseling and raising initiatives, enforcing laws and applying plans. In fact, the bureaucratic mechanism has become the basis of independent power with its own interest in determining the public agenda. Mayoral advisors on the status of women operate in an organizational environment characterized by the incremental model and the satisfaction model, with elements of the political approach. These characteristics of the policy-making process influence the advisors' activities and ability to influence shaping policy and the public agenda when dealing with the issues of equality and the status of women, as a social issue with central public prominence.

2.9 The decision-making processes in public administration

Determining urban policy is a process of taking decisions in areas that determine the general policy framework and allocating resources for this. The decision also determines the orders of priorities in allocating resources as well as the stages of implementation.

This section will review some aspects of the decision-making process in public administration that can contribute to understanding the practice typical of local authorities and the place of the advisor at the urban *foci* of power consequent to her appointment and the ability to influence decision-makers.

The mapping process is a link

- Connecting the decision-making process in national policy and determining local policy.
- Between the super policy objectives on the national level and the local level
- Between local policy objectives and their practical implementation in the framework of specific causes and constraints
- Between all the national resources for developing policy and the need for resources for developing local policy (Elboim-Dror, 1970; Dror, 1978).

The decision-making process is one of the central and most important subjects in administration theory. Involvement in decision-making held a central place in public administration and political science, together with theoretical and empirical areas of research: Economic, statistics, psychology, business administration and performance analysis.

Simon (1976) defines decision-making as the essence of the administrative act, and sees it as the key for understanding the manager's work and the organization's activity, without negating the other aspects of the manager's work. This is known for short, as POSDCORB: Planning, organization, staffing, directing, coordinating, budgeting (Gulick, 1937). Simon (1976) claims that we will better understand the manager's behavior if it is viewed as individual cases of general decision-making behavior.

Taking decisions as a social process will appear to reduce the alternatives of people's or group behavior, by an operator or operators (Klark, 1986). The decision-making process can be viewed as a closed system of

decision-makers or as an open system in which there is constant interaction between the decision-makers and environmental elements.

In reality the situation is not dichotomous, but depends on place, time and people and is found at one or another point along the axis between two situations.

The formal framework of this process *a priori* dictates limitations, but flexibility and dependence of people who operate in time and place also exist in a fixed framework (Hallak, 1977; Gaziel, 1984).

This process can be divided into endless, chronological processes, and into sub-processes across the process, according to issue and sub-issue comprising the decision. Similarly, specific processes can be explored, that are part of the general process such as planning, introducing change, negotiations and so on. Each of the processes and secondary processes has a unique dynamic that affects the entire procedure and are influenced by it. The decision-making process is also influenced by many elements, notably, the information held by the decision-maker, personal considerations, their talents and ability in the professional, administrative, mental, physical and other domain (Genis and Mann, 1981). There is an endless impact of a variety of factors. The subsequent decision and change affect them one way or another, as well as impacting on the decision-making process in public administration, and particularly in the realm of determining policy (Hallak, 1977; Dror, 1978; Elboim-Dror, 1982; Gaziel, 1984).

The mayoral advisor on the status of women, for example, is at the hub of the process, as determined by law. Her role is to channel the various impacts to the benefit of the issues associated with the advancement of women. The literature on the decision-making process deals mainly with the discussion of the various models that shape the method of taking decisions. This review surveys those relevant to the topic. It is customary to differentiate between normative models, that describe the desired method for taking decisions, and descriptive models that describe the way in which decisions are taken in reality.

The main normative model is purely rational and comprises three main stages:

1. Defining tasks and objectives
2. Developing and evaluating all the existing alternatives
3. Making decisions

Following the rational model, others developed, differing in some of their components. The differences between them and the pure rational model do not lie in their basic assumptions but in evaluating their possible implementation. An example of this is March and Simon's (1958) satisfaction model, according to which human rationality is limited, and only satisfactory solutions can be realized. The alternative that satisfies the decision-maker should be sought.

The incremental change model assumes that policy is not determined in a vacuum, but is limited, largely, by past decisions, in order to develop gradual policy and create broad public agreement that will help accept the changes. Psychology teaches that policy makers will often persuade themselves to make changes quickly and easily only because these changes are incremental and do not entail great danger due to mistakes or political conflict (Lindblom, 1959). It will be shown that this model is typical of the decision-making processes in the local authority.

The paralysis frequently characterizing decision-makers emanates from the dictates of the rational model. This asserts that decisions should not be taken until all the alternative methods of achieving the objectives are checked and properly defined, and until there is absolute certainty that all the possible results have been explored.

A real possibility for change is in holding incremental change, that enjoys the agreement of the environment, does not feel threatened by the unknown, and enables examining and correcting the change should this be necessary.

The mixed scanning model makes a synthesis between pure rationalism and the incremental change models and attempts, objectively, to encompass all aspects of the decision, both quantitative and qualitative. If the findings indicate decision-making in principle, it must be adapted to the rational model; if the decisions are at the strategic level they should be adapted to the incremental change model (Eziosi, 1967).

Drucker's (1985) decision-making model presents several main attributes: Defining the problem, its analysis, developing and evaluating alternative solutions, evaluating alternatives according to cost-benefit analysis, finding the optimal solution and implementing the decision in practice. Defining the problem is a central stage in this approach, in comparison to the classical rational model that focuses mainly on setting the objectives and finding alternatives. As in the stage of defining the problems, so, too, the behavior following the decision-making has been

transferred from the researchers' agenda to that of administrative behavior. Levin and Sanger (1983), specialize in decision-making, and view the implementation of the decision as a technical, administrative issue. Attention was focused on the process, in an attempt to understand and improve it, wherein the implementation of the decisions is perceived as almost automatic from the strength of the decision taken.

When the reasons for not implementing a decision taken were examined more closely, it transpired that the administration lacks a mechanism for their automatic implementation. American studies on implementing policy (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1974) claim this is a complicated issue. Implementing decisions is no longer perceived as a technical issue alone, but as part of creating policy that affords an ongoing process, beyond the discussion and decision table, to the point of implementing decisions taken.

Drucker's (1985) model indicates that it is not sufficient for people to accept the ruling of the decision-maker. Decisions must become part of people. For them to be translated into actions, people must understand that change in behavior is expected of them, for which people must undergo training. He believes the decision should not be presented to people as if it demands of them to relearn everything, or to reinvent themselves.

The principle of effective communications is to convey only the change clearly, exactly and unequivocally. It demands of each decision to become the decision of all. Hence those who implement it must take part in developing alternatives. This is likely to improve the quality of the final decision by exposing points that were overlooked in the decision-making path. This cooperation will lead to better and more efficient implementation of their work in the future and will create a feeling of cooperation and realization.

Incremental change, while using effective communications, is a significant term for exploring the functioning of agents of change in public administration.

2.10 Organizational research

The organizational environment in which the decision-makers function influences the process of shaping policy and its practical application. A general review of the theories on organizational research provides the background to presenting the local authority as an organizational system in which the advisor on the status of women operates.

The process has a direct impact on the social-political structure. Throughout the decision-making process, interaction exists with the environmental factors and pressure groups that affects the process and is influenced by it. All the environmental impacts must be taken into consideration by the decision-makers, otherwise difficulties are likely to be encountered while implementing the decisions, to the point of inability to implement them (Elboim-Dror, 1971, 1974; Hallak, 1977). These organizational interactions should be understood to explore their impact in the local authority on the performance of the mayoral advisor later in this thesis.

According to Kramer (1981), bureaucracy directs the information and operational techniques, thereby controlling the decision-making process, wherein its organizational preferences become operational alternatives facing the decision-makers. The organizational interest sometimes contradicts the public interest; however, the decision-maker cannot decide without the alternatives offered by the bureaucracy. This latter thus behaves as an interest group that tries to influence decision-making in order to realize organizational objectives. The modern perception in organizational research relates to them as open systems, existing through ongoing reciprocal relations between them and the environment. The mutual dependency between them stems from the need to obtain essential resources for their existence and from the demands of the environment to assure products and services for the existence of society and its members.

The organizational environment differs from one organization to another, and includes many economic, social and political factors operating in diverse formats. Shaping the organization's objectives, and steps to be taken by the administration, occur not only in reaction to the environment but simultaneously and influence it.

The studies depict the organizations as human associations aiming to realize defined objectives through reciprocal relations between them. They are target-oriented entities striving to function in a stable environment and accumulate political strength.

The organizations reactions are derived from the environmental attributes towards which they are directed, and it must be more flexible and open to external influences in the globalization era (Perrow, 1970; Katz and Kahan, 1978; Scott, 1992; Daft, 1995).

Researchers propose differentiating between the organization's objectives, the claim being that these are determined by people who hold key positions in the organization. The negotiation process between diverse interest groups in the organization describe the political character of the process of determining objectives (Simon, 1965; Daft, 1995).

Simon (1976) views organizations as systems comprised of various stakeholders who differ in content and environment. The operational decisions taken are, in fact, objectives that reflect a compromise between different and contradictory interests in the organization and its environment. Thus the rational model cannot be applied in organizational analysis, since the rationality is limited by the very structure and character.

The decision-making process in an organization, states Daft (1995), cannot be analyzed according to the rational model. Intra-organizational aspects, and particularly the political aspects of the organization, should be considered. The organizational strength is the result of organizational processes that can be forecast and understood. He differentiates between organizational effectiveness and organizational efficiency. The former is the level at which the organization realizes its objectives. The better it coordinates its ability with the environmental demands, the higher level of effectiveness it will achieve. However, organizations prefer criteria of greater efficiency to those of effectiveness.

Farkas and Kurucz (2000) describe three approaches to organizational activity that can be used to interpret organizational activities: The differentiation perspective – referring to the modern approach, the integration perspective – referring to the traditional approach, and the fragmentation perspective - referring to the post-modern approach.

The theoretical literature indicates that public policy is the result of a balance between the various groups in society that have a central place in politics and determining policy. It in fact reflects all the values and desires of the groups participating in the process. Interest groups should be involved in the planning process. Every program should include elements that will enable change and adaptation to change occurring in

the environment, and afford rapid and effective incremental change in the program (Truman, 1951; Lindblom, 1965). Yishai (1987) examines the involvement of interest groups in the decision-making process in determining public policy in Israel. Interest groups in Israel are dispersed and integrated in the political establishment, so that there are clear and direct communications with the decision-makers. In order to examine their influence, the groups' resources, the resources of the government and the reciprocal relations between the interest groups and the government should be examined.

This review affords the background to the description of local authorities in Israel as organizations that function in an environment comprising cultural-value, legal-political, economic, technological and natural aspects. They strive to amass political power through determining policy that is compatible with the political and environmental needs.

2.11 Local authorities in Israel

This section will review of the structure of local authorities in Israel, particularly from the perspective of their being organizations in which the mayoral advisor strives to advance the status of women. The review will present the complex set of relationships between the central government and the local government. It focuses mainly on familiarity with the structure of local authorities, in order to understand the political and professional environment in which the advisor operates. The topic of empowerment in the organization will be discussed as a concept that includes the influence on the decision-making processes and on the public agenda, as well as allocating budgets and determining orders of priorities for social objectives, as the background to the performance and involvement of the advisor in the decision-making process in the local authority.

Local government in Israel, and in all democratic welfare countries, is the most important public sector outside the government, since it embraces a combination of expenditure budgets and many areas of economic and social activity, whose implications for the citizens' daily life are most significant (Kalcheim, 1997).

Two legal types of urban government exist in Israel - municipalities and councils (both local and regional). The differentiation between them, with respect to their authority, is slim. The *kibbutzim* and *moshavim* (both forms of communal settlement, the former having a greater number of shared assets) are organized according to law as cooperative companies

with the municipal status of a local committee. Every *kibbutz* and *moshav* is also a member of the regional council that provides it with municipal services (Kalcheim and Elazar, 2001).

Local authorities implement their decisions through regulations and orders, instructions and other local legislation. The authorities' budget is based on collecting local taxes and on receiving budgets from the State.

The level of dynamism of the local authority differs from one to the next, and is influenced, amongst others, by the structure of the government and the political culture, according to their attributes. Local government in Israel, as in most countries, is the main provider of services for the State's population.

Physical and social services are provided through the local authorities (Amrani, 2001). Israel, like other modern countries, tries through a social welfare policy to realize social objectives and solve problems that cannot be solved through customary social-economic activity (Shachar, 1987).

Yishai (1996) defines Israel as a modern welfare state committed to providing her citizens with basic social rights. Doron and Kramer (1992) note the changes Israel's welfare policy has undergone prior to the establishment of the State in 1948 until now. They maintain that between 1968-1977 awareness grew of the inequality in the distribution of income and in the provision of equal opportunities to diverse social groups.

Social disparity and ethnic tension moved the government to introduce social reforms and to expand and improve the welfare programs (Katan, 2000). The activities of the government offices had a significant impact on the functioning of the local authorities, wherein the relationships between them were based on constant dependency, mainly in everything pertaining to budgets.

The Union of Local Authorities in Israel (ULAI) is the organization that has united all the local authorities in the country since 1948, and is involved with representing the local authorities and those heading it *vis-à-vis* the various authorities running the country. The Union's policy is determined by the chairman and the administration elected from the heads of local authorities. Implementing policy is the responsibility of the Union's Director General, together with a staff that coordinates the work of its various departments; policy implementation is assured as determined by the heads of the local authorities (Shilo, 2000; Nachmias and Menachem, 1999). In its position as representing the local authorities,

ULAI deals with coordination *vis-à-vis* the other government offices over implementing the *Knesset's* decisions. At the same time, it supervises and monitors the implementation of policy pertaining to the direct interests of the local authorities.

From the outset, the government of Israel saw its role as nurturing and strengthening the local government institutions. After a period of general transfer of roles from the central government to the national services, a period of cooperative activity between the two executive levels began. While the State took upon itself the primary responsibility for initiating programs, determining policy and budget, the practical implementation of a broad variety of services, starting from welfare, education, the economy in times of emergency through to sewage, was transferred to the local government (Kalcheim and Elazar, 1987).

It is nowadays possible to observe that the general responsibilities of the local authority are spread over several main areas: Legislation, taxation, compulsory payments, financial management, cooperative activities with other factors and various general responsibilities. The authority is not totally independent in any of these domains, but it can operate to realize its own trends and interests (Barby, 1981; Kalcheim and Elazar, 1987).

Despite the remarkable developments in the 80s and 90s in the local authorities' work, the problem of financing the budgets still exists, and most authorities find themselves in a constant deficit (Hecht, 2001). The budgets have two main sources of funding: Government ministries and citizen taxation.

The professional literature notes three approaches to the financial relationships between the central and the local authorities:

1. To assure uniformity in providing services to the public, the local authorities must implement the policy determined by ULAI, since this latter serves the general good.
2. Since there is no difference between the national and the local objectives regarding services, the central government should support programs and decisions taken by the local authority and finance them accordingly.
3. Each local authority has the right to preserve its uniqueness, and take decisions pertaining to its own issues, as it sees fit. The Union must help it financially on the basis of subsidizing it according to project.

These three approaches derive from the value-oriented debate over the value and equality in providing services and the value of freedom for each local authority, as an independent entity, to determine its needs and level of service (Gaziel, 1987; Swirsky, 1998; Ohrbach, 2001).

Kalcheim (1997) approves the hypothesis that the split between government offices, the absence of supervision and lack of ministerial control of local details expanded, over the years, the local authority's ability to achieve its objectives. He also notes that although the central government has the legal and administrative supervisory means over the activities of the local authority, they only are implemented infrequently, and there is therefore hardly any limitation on the local authorities.

The increase in the government's participation in allocated income did not reduce the room for due consideration by the local authorities, since this did not parallel an increase in the expenditure budget of the authority.

Similarly, government policy led to developing services and their expansion by central organizations, and some of these services were operated together with, or through, local authorities. Consequently, money to finance the expanded services was directed to them.

Kalcheim (1997) remarks that expanding the services at the local level is not accompanied by increasing monitoring. Furthermore, local welfare and education projects emanate, in many cases, from the initiatives of local leadership. Since the method of direct elections was instituted, the incentive for the head of the local authority to develop local and national services increased.

It would thus seem that the relationships between the central and the local government is complex and relies on power struggles and dependency, mainly with respect to everything pertaining to budgets and resources.

All this influences the ability of the local authorities to offer a solution to local needs by providing services, together with their desire and need to address other sources in order to provide the necessary services (Gonen, 1998).

2.12 The organizational structure of the local authority

The local authority, as an organization, is a multi-objective entity serving a variety of clients and employing people from a variety of professions. Familiarity with the organizational structure and with the complexity of

the relationships within it are essential for understanding the place of the advisor on the status of women in this system.

Two structures underlie the authority's organization:

1. The public appointees – the head of the authority and the council members
2. The professional offices – statutory and non-statutory positions

The head of the authority heads these structures, responsible for the quality of the management and the functioning of the authority, but no less for its activities and policies, for manifestation of the political role of the local authority in the democratic system.

By its very structure, the local authority is an arena for competition between the diverse and varied interests. Hence, in the course of time, its decisions represent the mutual existence of different groups, on the basis of common interests, while aware of the diverse needs.

Similarly, we are witness to the process of the citizens' intensifying consumer awareness. Citizens see themselves as customers and as such they criticize the administration of the local authority in all realms of its activity. The development of the means for conveying information and improving access to the information contribute to this. These enable the immediate and ongoing exposure of the citizens to information, and increase their ability to influence the processes as they occur, intensifying their awareness of their right to information, of the effectiveness of concentrating their power.

Altering the approach and changes in the citizens' awareness of everything pertaining to the areas of activity of the local authority force the authority to organize itself effectively, based on simplifying the bureaucratic processes, on reducing the administrative tiers and on a direct connection between the administration and the citizens.

It would seem that the changes that influenced the business sector did not overlook the public sector. Examples of this are to be seen in the trends towards improving service and placing the client at the center, striving for lateral organizational cohesion and readiness to make use of outsourcing, including adopting the types of privatization. These attributes, together with the new tasks, and the multi-domain character of the activities of the local authority, influence the authority's organizational structure, mainly strengthening its professional headquarters (Shilo, 2000).

The administrative environment within the local authority includes the senior positions, defined as the political appointees in the city council, and statutory positions. This latter group holds positions in the local authority whose appointment is demanded by law to assure the objectives are performed, such as City Manager, engineer, comptroller and legal advisor.

In view of the political and party character of the local authority council, its members are interested, usually, in being involved in activity, in influencing the decision-making process and even its implementation.

Members of the local authority council are entitled to act on behalf of its general interests as well as on behalf of the ideological or the electoral interests of the group they represent in the council. They will be involved in activity through participation in debates and voting, but they will also be able to exploit their status and approach the professional clerks directly in order to influence activities.

According to the models existing in some local authorities in Israel, and even in other countries, the appointee, or person responsible for a particular department, does not suffice with determining policy or receiving reports and approving the main decisions, but asks to be involved in implementing policy.

This complex professional and political system is the organizational framework for the activities of senior role holders, who need to rely on purely professional values, but must also navigate between the contradictory expectations and demands. Most of the local authority's work, in contrast to political work, occurs in the various compulsory and optional committees. This is the arena in which the public appointees, members of the administration and senior professional echelons in the local authority meet (Government of Israel, 1975; Shafat, 1980).

The authority's work plan is constructed in partnership with a variety of role holders there, while the authority head and those holding senior positions are responsible for determining the urban vision. The City Manager and the appointees are responsible for implementing policy, while the head office departments are responsible for concentrating and presenting the information for purposes of planning. The authority's treasurer is responsible for establishing the financial frameworks, and the diverse department heads and employees present needs *vis-a-vis* necessary activities, define the order of priorities, the necessary budget and its implementation.

The head office of the local authority is the framework for administering, controlling, coordinating and monitoring, intended to enable efficient administration and control of the resources to realize the tasks. Headquarters activities in the authority include determining general strategy, determining policy, gathering and analyzing information, coordinating policy and responsibility for motivating the executive system according to the long-term objectives and the integrated objectives. The professional head office embraces a variety of professionals. Its character, and those who head it, create diversity in the composition of the various local authority head offices.

At the same time, in most authorities one can note several role holders who are part of the professional office, such as the City Manager, the deputy City Managers, the director of the strategic planning department, the director of human resources, the treasurer, engineer, legal advisor, comptroller and spokesperson.

The types and character of council meetings also changes according to the attributes of the administrative approach. One may note, however, several types of behaviors in most authorities, such as that of a kitchen forum, coordinating sessions, sessions to determine work plans, tracking sessions and general sessions.

The political forum meets in the framework of the city council, which is the authorized body for approving issues and matters defined by law, to legislate by-laws, to supervise, monitor and to initiate.

The council's authority includes deciding the senior appointments, discussing principles and policy proposed by the head of the authority, examining the programs and financial resources, administering the land under the jurisdiction of the authority and discussing the comptroller's reports.

The Council plenum is the public arena for political in-fighting, for making declarations and for coping with the immediate attention of the public and the media. The main body of work is conducted in the council's committees, which are the local authority's public-professional forum.

Compulsory committees exist in all local authorities, dealing with tenders, security, the economy in times of emergency, reductions, acquisitions and support, planning and building, finance and comptrol.

Similarly, there are optional committees not determined by law, but whose existence is necessary, such as education, welfare, environmental quality and advancing the status of women, in order to make the council's work more efficient.

The degree of impact of the committees depends, above all else, on the personalities of the council members, their talents, initiative and ability to influence. The committees' decisions need the approval of the council, unless the law indicates otherwise.

In this political process of decision-making in public administration, diverse arenas are created in which give and take exists, with conflicts and interests of organizations and pressure groups, wherein each participant in the process tries to bend matters to his/her benefit. This is the field in which the advisor on the status of women must operate. Her ability to integrate in the political arena is scrutinized as a factor influencing the processes of shaping policy at the local level, as well as her ability to place the subject on the agenda for discussion.

2.13 The budget in the local authority

Allocating budgets is one of the main parameters in which the ability of the advisor on the status of women can influence the decision-making processes, hence the issue of the budget as a tool for administration in the local authority will be reviewed.

Municipal law states that all local authorities should operate within their annual budgets. Approved budgets are legal documents obligatory for the authority. The budget is the economic framework for the authority's activities. It is also a tool for administering the authority according to its objectives and goals, reflecting the authority's structure, number of employees, positions, and manner in which it performs them. It is also a declaration of intentions regarding the work plan for the fiscal year.

The budgetary document in fact expresses the strength of the relationships between the elements in the authority by determining the way to divide resources. The budget links the financial resources and human behavior to achieve national objectives (Nachmias and Aloni, 1997; Danieli, 1998).

In the most general sense, the budget is a series of objectives, each of which has a price. Since the resources are limited and must be divided between diverse objectives, a budget becomes a mechanism through

which choice is made between alternative expenditures while maintaining efficiency, savings and preventing waste (Wildavsky, 1992). The heads of the financial and the political arrays work alongside each other in the budgetary process, the political aspect of which has several attributes:

1. Stakeholders are involved in the decision-making process.
2. Interest groups influence the budgetary process.
3. Decisions important for public policy are taken in the budgetary process in both the economic and the social spheres.
4. The process occurs through negotiations between diverse players who try to reach agreement, and each of whom tries to leave his/her mark on the budgetary document (Barzel, 1980; Mevorach, 1983).

The final budgetary proposal is a weighting of all the political inputs and economic influences (Danieli, 1998).

During the budgetary process, the cost and benefit must be considered together, to which end value judgment is necessary and for which the elected public servants are responsible (Wildavsky, 1984). Wildavsky (1984, 1992) discusses public budgeting and its political aspects at length. He presents the connection between budgeting and public policy, according to which the budgets are a manifestation of the practical policy. The budgetary process is one that deals with translating financial resources to human and political objectives. Deri (1997) claims that the public budget is at the center of political activity, which itself is located at the hub of the budgetary process. He emphasizes that since decision-makers must choose between competing plans and demands, even when there are no criteria for choosing between alternatives, two routes must be chosen:

1. Simplifying the complex task.
2. Creating a mechanism that will lead to agreement between all the interested parties.

The muddling through method is a focal tool for simplifying the complex task of developing a budget through the political process.

Doron (1998) maintains that the budget is the product of political power struggles and reflects the power of all the factors party to the process. He also claims the political decisions and programs that need budgetary financing compete with each other over resources.

Under such circumstances, people involved in the process tend to accept what has already been agreed on the past as the starting point for innovative decisions of the muddling through model. In many cases it

would appear that decision-makers ignore economic considerations in favor of political or social considerations.

In these processes, the place of the power in the decision-making process should be examined. Research into intra-organizational power focuses on the location of power within the organization, its source (personal or structural) and identifying the holders of power within the organization, be it authority, information, professions or interest groups (French and Raven, 1959; Etzioni, 1964; Pfeffer, 1981; Mintzberg, 1983; Samuel, 1990).

Theoreticians note structural factors as well as the individuals' ability within the organization, their political skills and degree of motivation as affecting the way in which they fulfill their roles, the degree of power and influence they are likely to amass. They similarly cite the individual talents in identifying and mapping the factors with power in the organization in order to use them within the organization (French and Raven, 1959; Mechanic, 1968; Pfeffer, 1981; Raven, 1992). Other theoreticians such as Etzioni, (1964), Pfeffer and Salancik (1974), Mintzberg (1983), Morgan (1986) and Samuel (1990) discuss the basis of power in the organization and note expertise, information, values, lack of alternatives or substitution, gender and motivation to influence. There is no doubt that the combination of the structural approach and the personal approach deepen understanding of the sources of power within an organization.

Diverse methods exist for evaluating power:

- According to resources (French and Raven, 1959)
- According to symbols (Pfeffer, 1981; Morgan, 1986)
- Evaluative indications of the power in the organization (Pfeffer, 1981)
- Representative indications and synthesis (Pfeffer, 1981)
- Assessing intensity according to its impact on the organization (Pfeffer, 1981; Morgan, 1986)

Lowe (1983) states that in order to understand political processes, the focus should be on identifying the power and understanding its position. Due to the character of democracy, the decision-making process in the public administration should not be perceived as the sole and uniform process.

Political processes are defined by Daft (1995) as the use of power to influence decisions in order to reach the desired results. Politics serve as a tool to overcome conflicts and differences of opinion. He maintains that the political model is an effective mechanism for decisions in conditions of uncertainty and lack of agreement. Politics exist when structural change exists – the division of formal authority, the division of tasks and staffing jobs according to a key, and when there is a division of resources.

According to Lindblom (1959), public decisions that pertain to the future always rely on past experience and on the resources at the disposal of the decision makers at a given time. The latter rely on what was decided and implemented until that time as a starting point, and add and improve at the periphery according to budgetary and time constraints, and according to the aspirations of all the entities participating in the public decision-making process.

The organization is viewed as a political front by Pfeffer (1981) in which reciprocal relations between individuals and groups exist and battle, with diverse objectives and motives. Through such activity they try to influence the organizations' decisions and policy, as well as the allocation of resources.

Wildavsky (1984) asserts that budgetary requests represent a strategy that includes expectations. The budget is, in fact, the result of political power struggles, rather than a pure economic document, reflecting the power enjoyed by each factor within the organization and the political reality that dictates public policy.

Since the budget is the product of values, norms and interests of various factors within the network, the organization will have difficulty acting and applying the plans that do not conform with those considerations born in mind in the budgetary process.

The study explores whether the appointment of mayoral advisors on the status of women and their place at the decision-making hubs will influence and effect change in the perceptions of policy-makers and key figures in the local arena, change that will manifest itself in allocating finances to the issue of the advancement of women, and in decisions on policy-makers' public agenda.

2.14 Mayoral advisors on the advancement of the status of women in local authorities – the background to appointing advisors

The review of the literature indicates that studying social phenomena by focusing on culture in general, and on political culture in particular, has become an important method of research, true also with respect to studying the differences between the genders (Almond and Powell, 1984; Lynn, 1984; Clark and Clark, 1986; Sears and Huddy, 1990).

By understanding the social-cultural perceptions, the organizational structure, public administration and local politics of the decision-makers in local authorities, the processes and problems of integrating women at hubs of political power in public administration can be understood (Sapiro, 1981; Lovenduski and Norris, 1993).

In Israel, as in western economies, there are hardly any legal-formal barriers to women who aspire to enter the political arena. At the same time, the number of women actively participating in the public administration decision-making process is still low.

The 1999 report of the Civil Service Commission indicates significant disparity in female representation within public service senior echelons, despite their accounting for 60% of the civil servants.

These disparities and recommendations of the 1978 Namir Committee established to examine the status of women in Israel led to the decision to appoint people responsible for the advancement of women in the various ministries (Prime Minister's Office, 1978), which was realized by chance in certain government ministries as of 1985. An important turning-point regarding the status of women occurred with the amendment to the Government Corporation Law in 1993, (Halprin and Koenigsberg, 2000) that determined the principle of suitable representation of both genders on their Boards of Directors.

The Civil Service Commission took an active part in 1995 in the discussions of the Law and Constitution Committee that prepared the amendment no. 7 to the Civil Service Law. This demanded suitable representation for both genders in that framework (Civil Service Commission Report, 1997), based on which the department for advancing women in the Civil Service was established.

1998 saw the establishment of the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office. The pertinent Law (Halprin and Koenigsberg, 2000) assures a legal basis for establishing a National Authority for Advancing the Status of Women, located in the Prime Minister's Office and directly subordinate to him. The Law assures the development, advancement and encouragement of policy and activities to advance the status of women, advancing equality between the genders, eradicating discrimination and preventing violence against women.

Similarly, the Authority was to encourage, coordinate and advance the activities of the government ministries, the local authorities and other organizations involved in the issue. It was to work towards advancing legislation, concentrating information, data and initiatives on research into the areas of its activity. It was also to work towards intensifying public awareness of the subject, its activities, and track and monitor activities and the implementation of recommendations and policy associated with the areas of its involvement.

The Local Authorities Law was passed in 2000, forcing the head of the authority to appoint an advisor on the status of women who would be an employee of the local authority, holding one of four senior ranks. The position could be in addition to another position filled by the candidate in the authority, as long as it would not interfere with fulfilling the advisory position. The law does not mention the salary for the position, and enables the head of the authority to add this position to another position held by the advisor (Government of Israel, 2000).

The law defines the subordination of the advisor to the head of the authority and her role as working

“...Together with the head of the local authority to plan policy on the advancement of the status of women within the authority, its implementation and allocating resources to this end; Should a Women's Council function in the local authority, the advisor on the status of women will work together with the Women's Council.”

(Local Authorities Law, 2000, p. 127)

Similarly,

“...report annually to the *Knesset* Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women, to the National Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women and the local authority in which she works on her activities, policy she applies and the resources at her disposal”.

(Local Authorities Law, 200, p. 128)

The law further emphasizes the obligation to invite the advisors to all council meetings and sessions of all the committees to afford them the opportunity to make their opinion heard prior to taking any decision involving them pertaining to the status of women.

Since the law was passed, the National Authority on the Advancement of the Status of Women has worked towards implementing it in the local authorities.

Now, according to the report of the Authority (Prime Minister's Office, 2003) some 132 advisors are working in the local authorities (Jewish, Arab, Bedouin, Druse and Circassian) throughout the country in cooperation with the Authority and with the ULAI. The Authority together with ULAI, trains advisors and accompanies them in guidance and in-service training courses to equip them with tools and skills in their new role and in order to create a common operational infrastructure for emphasizing the differences in the character of the local authorities. The training sessions and support for the advisors are a key part of the activities of the Authority in order to place the advisors at *foci* of power in the local authorities. They are also a mechanism that will lead to change in the accepted perceptions in public administration regarding the advance of women in the public service in particular, and regarding the advancement of the status of women in society in general.

Determining policy is a process in which public and political involvement is unavoidable. In order to raise the issue to the public agenda it is necessary to penetrate the decision-making arena and cross a prominent political barrier.

The mayoral advisors integrate in the political-public organization. In order to crystallize a suitable activity strategy they must understand the political and economic environment in which policy change is conducted,

as well as the means available to them in order to overcome the set perception and anticipated obstacles.

Participation in council meetings and in administrative committees is important for shaping action strategy by the advisors, according to the conditions typical of each given policy situation and with reference to the source of power, the sources of opposition and methods of improving the chance for change from the political and bureaucratic perspectives. The advisors must be familiar with, and involved in, the decision-making processes of all the factors participating in the political game to generate change in the authorities' policy benefiting advancing the issue.

Decision-makers play a central role in determining public policy and in advancing change in policy, but on the other hand, in causing failure in the initiative to change. The process of determining policy is characterized by political and bureaucratic constraints, and by social pressures and other connections brought to bear on decision-makers. These limit the possibilities at their disposal when making decisions regarding reform. Nevertheless, policy makers enjoy space for maneuvering, and considerable ability to influence the substance and timing of reform initiatives and their administration. Political leaders can afford great impetus to advancing proposals for innovative change. Their support for initiatives to change can also influence the external environment to support the reform.

Every plan or change thus necessitates a transition to declarative support by the political leadership as well as strong commitment to furthering the initiative and active involvement in the issue. The degree of success in changing policy depends largely the agents of change; the degree of their support of change is of ultimate importance.

Drucker (1985) claims that a public organization will find it harder to introduce change and will present more obstacles to change and innovation than a typical business organization. Public service is based on a budget and is not compensated according to result, thus the budgetary size, rather than receiving results, is significant.

A public institution should satisfy all and is therefore more conservative. Public organizations also try to attain the maximum rather than the optimum. Most researchers offer multi-staged techniques, that mostly concentrate on the organizational coping with change by providing an answer to possible opposition through systematic change, guidance and instruction regarding the desired change. The emphasis in all of them is

on the need, the idea and its adoption, assimilation and resources for change, and managerial commitment to them (Samuel, 1996; Gaziel, 1984, 1987; Fuchs, 1998; Kfir, 1998).

The involvement of the advisor in creating change, should be manifested in implementing the declaratory policy through involvement and cooperation of stakeholders in the local authority, responsible for shaping policy and allocating resources for its implementation.

The strategy adopted by those introducing change, i.e., mayoral advisors, should be examined in order to implement the policy shaped by policy makers.

The area of implementation is the unique source and space for managers and decision-makers in order to further improvements of the decisions as taken.

The value of policy was not measured according to concepts of the possible application, but according to its practical implementation. Applying policy plans accepted by policy makers are adopted and implemented in a constantly developing environment. Efficient implementation will be realized through constant evaluation.

In most cases, policy makers are politicians, and policy is frequently determined for declaratory purposes only, in order to arouse positive public opinion.

Thus, determining policy is not sufficient. The defined factors should be determined, whose role it is to implement the decision, wherein each factor is aware of its role and sets of relationships towards the other implementing factors. Determining the relationships between those implementing policy should be determined prior to implementing the program rather than after it.

The authority for advancing the status of women focuses on training advisors, exploring the political processes existing in the authority that dictate policy and the order of priorities on its agenda.

Applying policy is supposed to integrate with the economic theories, i.e., to be implemented according to the principles and objectives set, wherein the economic means and intended budgets efficiently serve the policy.

When the objectives are not realistic, the means taken for implementing policy are rejected or not realized. The questions of whether the objectives set by the policy makers are realistic, and how the advisor functions as implementing policy on the background of the means existing in the local authority, should be examined in the research process.

There is no doubt that the starting point for any exploration of policy effectiveness lies in analyzing the objectives of the Local Authorities Law for the Appointment of Mayoral Advisors on the Status of Women (2000) and its implementation there.

The literature review seems to indicate the continued existence of state patronage in everything connected to the perception of the status of women in society and politics, while at the same time raising the existence of the conditions for the growth of broad, egalitarian awareness, and the ability of women to influence the processes in determining public policy in general and its implications for public administration in particular.

The advisors' perception of the role and their functioning will be examined in this study as significant variables for studying the application of the Local Authorities Law (2000).

Chapter 3

The Research

3.1 The research population

The research population comprised 75 mayoral advisors, following approval of the Local Authorities Law on the Appointment of Mayoral Advisors on the Status of Women (hereafter, mayoral advisors) in 2000. They had received professional guidance from the Authority on the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office and fulfilled this position for at least 2-3 ½ years.

3.2 The research sample

The sample was planned as a census of the entire target population of 75 women.

3.3 Method of sampling

The researcher had a list of the mayoral advisors, including their addresses and telephone numbers, who had participated in the course organized by the above authority. She distributed the questionnaires to the advisors by post, fax or in individual meetings, and phoned them to remind them to return the completed questionnaires by mail or by fax.

3.4 The sample size

A total of 50 questionnaires were completed and returned to the researcher, from a total of 75 advisors, i.e., 66%. This rate of return was lower than anticipated by the researcher in view of the high level of involvement of most of the advisors and the interest they were expected to show in the research topic. Despite efforts to increase the number of respondents (sending reminders by phone and by mail) the researcher did not manage to improve the level of the advisors' cooperation.

In order to examine the degree of representation of the sample (n=50) relative to the general research population (n=75) a comparison of the population distribution with respect to personal indices such as age, education, settlement type) was conducted. Considerable similarity was found between the distribution of these parameters between the sample and the population. One may accordingly claim that the sample is very similar in its attributes to the general research population.

3.5 The research process

The positivist approach to quantitative research was adopted. Since the research results and predictability pertinent to the target population are significant for organizing strategic judgments in the decision-making process in the authority, a large research population was needed.

The advantages of the positivist approach lie in:

1. Economy when collecting a large quantity of data
2. Gathering comparable data
3. Reliance on empirical research methods.

The advantage of quantitative research relevant to this study include:

1. The ability to offer causal explanations and to enable future forecasts
2. Its foundation on empirical research methods

Qualitative research was also adopted in the form of focused interviews, also known as “non-scheduled structured interviews”. These are usually conducted using written instructions that detail the subjects associated with the research objectives. The advantages of such interviews lie in the receipt of individual, personal reactions, the time is well-used and the ‘important points’ are discussed. They are held with interviewees who are known to be involved in the particular experience, relate to situations analyzed previously, detail the issues connected to the research hypotheses and focus on the subjective experiences of the research population.

3.6 The research array

A correlative research array was chosen for this study, common in social sciences and found suitable to the issue studied. It focuses on the connection between variables as they are in reality; drawing conclusions relates only to a connection between the variables. The independent variable in this study is that of attribution, not influenced by the researcher.

The study is a descriptive field research, the choice of which is compatible with the research objectives that aim to explore the connection between the variables. The choice of a survey as the research method affords gathering data in a brief period of time from a larger sample, in a standard and economical manner appropriate to the large sample. It enables examining the research population relative to the research variables, offers a basis for comparing the data and reduces to a minimum the researcher’s impact.

3.7 Methods of collecting data and a description of the research tool

The research tool employed for gathering data was a structured questionnaire that included eight sections (see appendix no. 2).

1. Opening – presentation of the study and its objectives to the research population, and a guarantee of confidentiality.
2. Advisor's background attributes – demographic attributes and role attributes.
3. Perception of the advisor's role – (secondary questionnaire A): Four factors were presented to the population significant to the advisory position and were ranked according to the order of importance.
4. A questionnaire on the perception of the advisor's role on the status of women in the local authority (secondary questionnaire B) with 11 closed questions describing various aspects of the work. The advisor ranked the degree to which each of the descriptions is part of her position on 7-rank scale, wherein 1 was 'to some degree' and 7 was 'considerably'.
5. A questionnaire on the success in advancing issues under the auspices of the mayoral advisor (secondary questionnaire C) – with 17 closed questions describing various areas that the advisors are expected to advance in the framework of their position (as defined by the job definition). The research population ranked the degree of their success in advancing each area on a 7-rank scale, wherein 1 was 'no success' and 7 was 'considerable success'.
6. A questionnaire assessing the personal functioning of the mayoral advisor (secondary questionnaire D) including 30 closed questions that describe the diverse aspects of the advisor's performance. These pertained to satisfaction with her position, readiness for her position, the relationships with the decision-makers in the authority and so on. The research population ranked their assessment with respect to each of the aspects on a 7-rank scale, wherein 1 was 'to some degree' and 7 was 'considerably'.
7. A questionnaire ranking the attitude of the decision-makers in the local authority to the issue of the status of women (secondary questionnaire E). This questionnaire included 7 items, wherein each item described a senior role holder in the local authority at both the political (Mayor, council members) and the professional ranks (city manager, key department heads). The research population ranked the level of support enjoyed by the issue of the advancement of the status of women with respect to each of the role holders on a 7-rank

scale, wherein 1 indicated 'little support' and 7 'considerable support'.

8. A questionnaire on initiatives by the decision-makers in the authority in advancing the issues pertaining to the status of women (secondary questionnaire F). This included 6 closed questions describing areas in which the decision-makers and senior role holders in the authority can help to advance the issue. The research population ranked the degree of initiative taken in various domains on a 7-rank scale wherein 1 was 'lack of initiative and 7 was 'considerable initiative'.

3.8 The validity and reliability of the research tools

External validity: In view of the fact that the survey was conducted as a census rather than a sample, the findings should reflect and represent the target population.

Structural validity: The type of validity in this study is logical validity that explores the degree of representation of the world of content in which the advisors are interested. A pilot questionnaire was run through a few members of the research population in order to verify the questions were understood. Similarly, validity was checked in consultation with a professional statistician.

Reliability: Statistical reliability was explored after completing the data collection (see the research findings).

3.9 Planning and processing the raw data and their presentation

The statistical analysis was conducted in several stages, using the SPSS program.

1. Questionnaire reliability was explored using Cronbach's alpha test for the various indices (according to the secondary questionnaires B-F)
2. Descriptive statistics were employed, including presentation of the central indices and distribution (average, median, frequency, SD and range) of the research variables regarding attitudes and distribution of the research population according to demographic and role attributes.
3. Inference statistics were calculated, including exploration of the research hypotheses and statistical data relevant to the connections between the research variables. These included a Pearson linear correlation test, one-way ANOVA variance tests, t-test and cross-tabulation tests to compare the advisors' profiles according to the extreme answers.

Chapter 4

The Research Findings

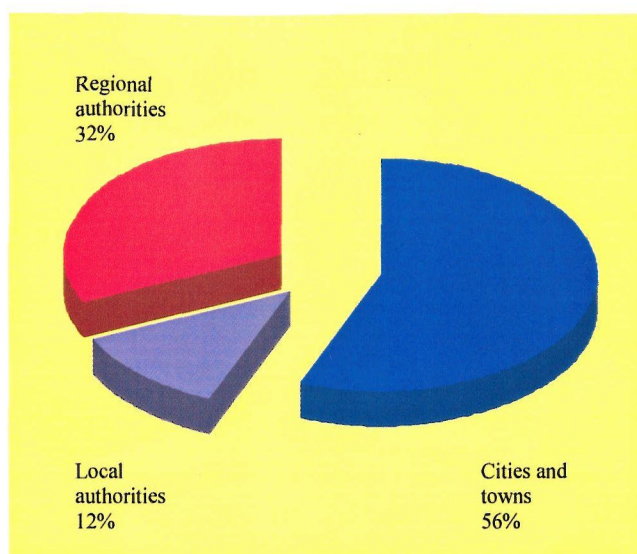
The research population comprised 50 people employed as mayoral advisors on the advancement of the status of women in local authorities from a total of 75 experienced mayoral advisors throughout Israel. The research findings are presented with respect to two sub-sections:

1. Descriptive statistics – distributions and indices of centrality, distribution of the research variables and reliability tests between the items.
2. Inference statistics, i.e. various statistical tests to explore the connections between the variables – correlations, variance tests, and a regression test. Variance analysis examines whether distinct differences exist between groups regarding ranking the research indices. Correlation tests explore whether there is a linear coefficient between the variables while regression analysis enables developing a multi-variable prediction formula to explain the variance of the dependent variable.

4.1 Descriptive statistics

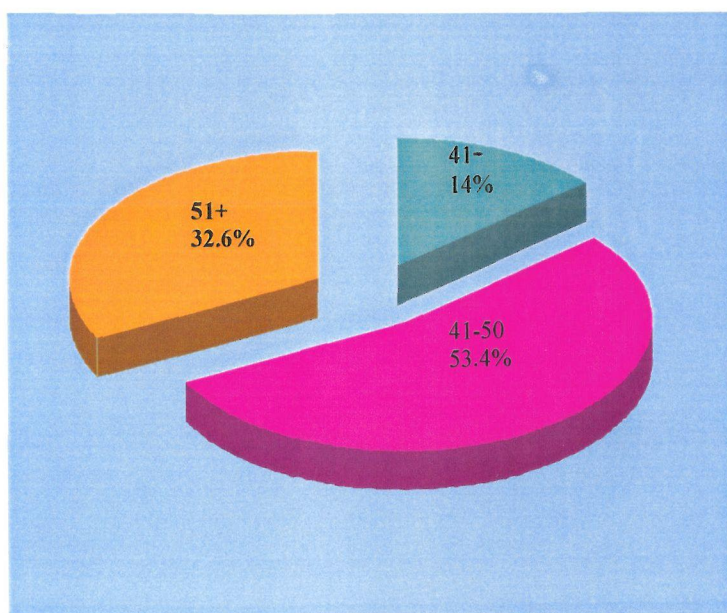
This section will present data from the descriptive statistics regarding the attributes of the research population.

Tables nos. 32-34 (see appendix no. 3) and graphs nos. 1-5 present background attributes of the research population including attributes of the local authorities in which the advisors are employed, their demographic characteristics and the advisors' role attributes.



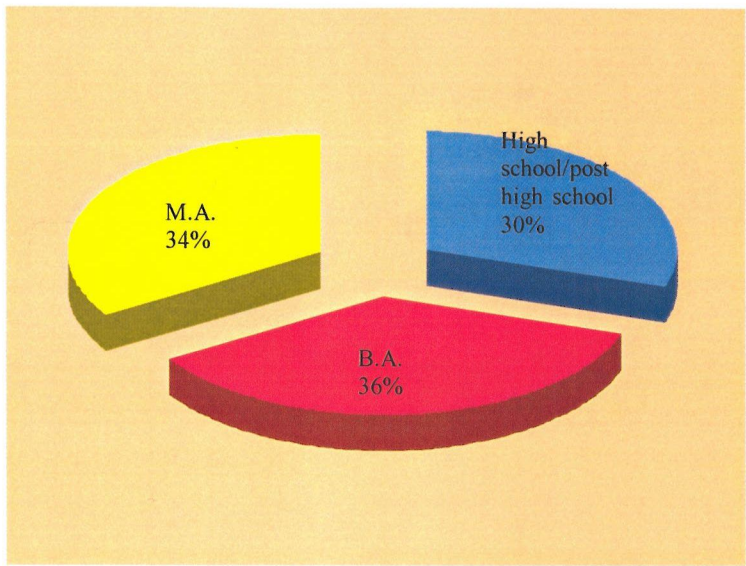
Graph no. 1: Distribution of the research population according to type of local authority

More than half the advisors who participated in the study are employed in cities and towns, a third in regional authorities and about 12% are employed in local authorities, half in authorities in central Israel, and half in the peripheral areas. Only in two local authorities (4%) is the Mayor female, compared to 96% in which the Mayor is male.



Graph no. 2: Distribution of research population according to age

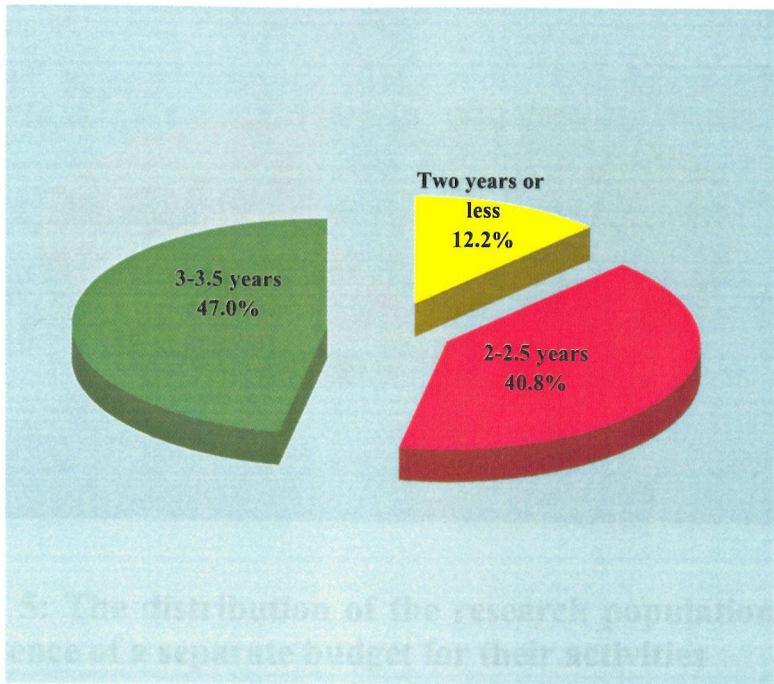
Most of the mayoral advisors are aged 40+. 53.5% are aged 41-50, 32.6% are aged 51+. The average age is 47.5, SD is 8.08 and the range is 29-69.



Graph no. 3: Distribution of research population according to level of education

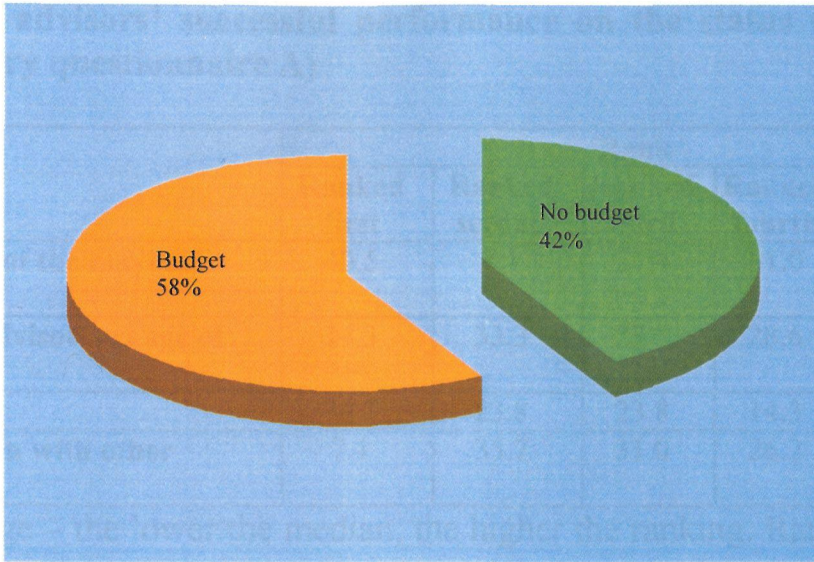
More than 66% of the advisors have an academic education with a B.A. or an M.A. degree, while 30% have lower education. Most of the advisors are married (87.8%)

4.1.1 Positional attributes



Graph no. 4: The distribution of the research population according to position seniority

About 80% of the advisors have fulfilled this position for 2-3.5 years. 85.1% of them already fulfilled a different position in the local authority prior to their appointment as mayoral advisors. In most cases relatively senior employees were appointed to this position, while only 18.4% work solely as mayoral advisors on the advancement of the status of women.



Graph no. 5: The distribution of the research population according to the existence of a separate budget for their activities

Most of the advisors (95.7%) do not receive additional pay for their advisory position (which is in addition to their other position in the authority) (see table no. 34 in appendix no. 3). Similarly, 42% of the advisors reported they are not allocated a separate budget to finance their activities on the advancement of the status of women, while 58% reported that they do.

4.2 The research variables

This section presents data from the descriptive statistics pertaining to the attitudes of the research population regarding the diverse items that comprise the research variables. The central indices and distribution (average, standard deviation, median, frequency and range) are presented for each variable.

4.2.1 Ranking the importance of the factors contributing to the success of the advisors' performance

In order to explore how the advisors perceive their work and what are the most significant factors associated with their successful performance, they were presented with four factors and were asked to rank them according to the order of importance (see secondary questionnaire A in the appendix 2). The findings are presented in table no. 2.

Table no. 2: Ranked importance of the factors associated with the mayoral advisors’ successful performance on the status of women (secondary questionnaire A)

(n=42)	Rank				
	Ranked first	Ranked second	Ranked third	Ranked fourth	Average (*)
The status of the mayoral advisor	40.5	7.1	21.4	31.0	(2) 2.43
Mayoral advisor’s range of authority	14.3	33.3	23.8	28.6	(3) 2.67
Budget	38.1	23.8	23.8	14.3	(1) 2.14
Cooperation with other factors	7.1	35.7	31.0	26.2	(4) 2.76

(*) Average – the lower the median, the higher the ranking. Rank is noted in brackets.

The table indicates that the two factors ranked highest are the status of the mayoral advisor (40.5%) and allocating resources (38.1%). In comparison, a relatively high proportion of advisors (31%) believe that the status of the advisor is not an important parameter, and ranked this in fourth place.

After calculating the average mark for each parameter it transpires that the factor perceived as most important by the advisors for their successful performance is allocating resources for their activities (M=2.14). In second place is the status of the mayoral advisor (M=2.43), in third place, the advisor’s authority (M=2.67) and in fourth place, cooperation with other factors (M=2.76). At the same time, the distribution of the results indicates high variability in the perception of the factors underlying successful performance amongst the various advisors.

4.2.2 The perception of the role of mayoral advisor on the advancement of the status of women

In order to study the perception of the research population of the role of the mayoral advisor on the advancement of women, a questionnaire containing 11 items phrased as statements was distributed. The research population was asked to rank the degree to which, in their opinion, each description is pertinent to their position, ranked on a 7-rank scale wherein the higher the numerical grade, the stronger the perception of the role (see secondary questionnaire B in the appendix). Table no. 3 presents the central indices and distribution of the 11 items in the questionnaire on the perception of the role.

Table no. 3: The central and distribution indices for the items in the questionnaire regarding the advisors’ ranked perception of their position as mayoral advisor on the status of women (secondary questionnaire B)

		Ranked role perception						
		N	Mean	Median	Mode	SD	Min	Max
1	Handling new employees	48	4.52	5	5	1.80	1	7
2	Handling city residents	49	5.78	6	7	1.36	2	7
3	Increasing awareness of the status of women	50	6.46	7	7	0.86	2	7
4	Distributing information on the status of women	49	6.47	7	7	0.79	3	7
5	Assuring arrangements for affording equal opportunities to women	49	5.76	6	7	1.36	1	7
6	Activities on allocating resources	50	5.90	6	7	1.16	2	7
7	Developing programs on the advancement of women	50	5.74	6	7	1.35	3	7
8	Advancing women to senior/key positions	48	5.17	6	6	1.68	1	7
9	Impact of policy makers impact on issue	48	6.02	6	7	1.25	1	7
10	Coordinating instructional activities and events associated with the issue	50	5.36	6	6	1.56	1	7
11	Raising the issue to the public agenda	49	6.22	7	7	1.14	1	7

The table indicates that, on average, all 11 items are perceived by the advisors as part of their position. At the same time, 3 issues enjoyed a particularly high rank:

- Item no. 3 – increasing awareness of the topic of the status of women (M=6.46)
- Item no. 4 – disseminating information in the rights of women (M=6.47)
- Item no 11 – raising the subject to the public agenda (M=6.22).

In contrast, one topic – item no. 1 pertaining to handling female employees in the authority - was ranked relatively low although with an average rank of above 4 (M=4.52).

4.2.3 The advisors’ success in advancing issues under their jurisdiction

In order to study the advisors’ perception of their success in advancing diverse issues under their jurisdiction since their appointment, a 17-item questionnaire was compiled phrased as statements. The advisors were asked to rank the degree to which, they believed they managed to advance one of the subjects on a 7-rank scale. The higher the mark afforded, the higher the perception of the success (see secondary questionnaire C in the appendix). Table no. 4 presents the distribution and central indices for the 17 items in the questionnaire.

Table no. 4: The central and distribution indices for the questionnaire items on the degree to which the advisors managed to advance each of the topics since their appointment

	Issue	Ranking advancement success						
		N	Mean	Med	Mode	SD	Min	Max
1	Allocating/increasing budget	47	3.91	4	4	1.57	1	7
2	Raising public awareness	48	5.25	5.5	6	1.14	1	7
3	Establishing interest groups	47	4.57	5	5	1.75	1	7
4	Encouraging business initiatives and economic independence for women	47	4.09	4	6	1.83	1	7
5	Activity to encourage employing women and their integration in the work world	47	4.30	4	5	1.64	1	7
6	Preventing violence against women	46	4.87	5	5	1.41	1	7
7	Advancing female leadership	47	4.66	5	4	1.45	1	7
8	Increasing female representation in senior positions in local authority	47	3.77	4	1	1.89	1	7
9	Bringing the issue to the awareness of decision-makers	48	4.90	5	5	1.48	1	7
10	Rights of women working in local authority	48	4.44	5	6	1.60	1	7
11	Developing professional support networks for women	48	3.83	4	4	1.51	1	6
12	Creating a pool of potential women for senior positions	48	3.38	3	3	1.63	1	7
13	Developing a multi-annual program	48	4.85	5	5	1.73	1	7
14	Initiating unique instructional activities for the advancement of women	47	4.89	5	6	1.67	1	7
15	Locating needs on the issue of advancing the status of women	48	5.27	6	6	1.48	1	7
16	Taking steps to prevent discrimination against women	47	4.26	4	4	1.61	1	7
17	Intervention to advance educational programs for gender equality in the education system	48	4.48	5	5	1.87	1	7

The table indicates that, on average, the advisors ranked their success in most cases as average or above. In two areas the level of success was perceived as higher:

- Item no. 2 – increasing public awareness (M=5.25)
- Item no 15 - identifying needs pertaining to the advancement of the status of women (M=5.27).

On the other hand, four areas were ranked relatively low (lower than 4):

- Item no 1 – increasing the budget (M=3.91)
- Item no. 8 – increasing the representation of women in senior positions (M=3.77)
- Item no 11 – developing professional support networks for women (m=3.83)
- Item no. 12 – creating a pool of potential women for senior positions (M=3.38).

Furthermore, the table indicates the existence of a broad variety of opinions amongst the advisors for almost the entire scale range.

In order to explore differences in the profile of advisors who afforded low ranks (1-2) compared to those affording a high rank (6-7), frequency cross-tabulation was conducted and the chi square statistical value was calculated between the variables of the advisors' profiles. The analysis aimed to study the disparity between the advisors who only afforded extreme values in a descriptive presentation (cross-matching frequencies) for selected items from the questionnaire. These included education, status in the authority (senior/junior), receipt of a separate salary for the advisory position, budgeting their advisory activities and items nos. 1, 2, 9 and 15 in the secondary questionnaire C (advisors who ranked the items at a medium level were excluded). The cross-tabulations that offered significant differences only are presented below.

Table no. 5: The connection between the advisors’ ranking (high/low) of item C1 and receiving budget and status

		Separate budget	
		No	Yes
Allocating/increasing budget (C1)	Low rank	75.0%	25.0%
	High rank	12.5%	87.5%
	Chi-Square Tests	6.349*	
	Sig.	0.012	
		Position	
		Senior	Junior
	Low rank	57.1%	42.9%
	High rank	100.0%	--
	Chi-Square Tests	3.818*	
	Sig.	0.050	

(*) p<0.05

Significant differences were found for this item amongst the variables relevant to budgeting the advisors’ operations and status. All the advisors who ranked the item high held a senior position in the authority. 87.5% were budgeted in the framework of their activities on the status of women, while amongst advisors who ranked low there is a higher proportion of employees of junior rank and of those whose activities were not budgeted.

Table no. 6: The connection between the advisors’ ranking (high/low) of item C2 and status

		Position	
		Senior	Junior
Increasing public awareness (C2)	Low rank	--	100.0%
	High rank	83.3%	16.7%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.167*	
	Sig.	0.041	

(*) p<0.05

A significant difference was found regarding the variable of the status of the advisor: Of advisors who ranked the item high, 83.3% held a senior position in the authority, while those ranking it low held junior positions.

Table no. 7: The connection between the advisors’ ranking (high/low) of item C9 and receiving budgets and status

		Separate budget	
		No	Yes
Raising the issue decision-makers awareness (C9)	Low rank	80.0%	20.0%
	High rank	27.8%	72.2%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.480*	
	Sig.	0.034	
		Position	
		Senior	Junior
	Low rank		100.0%
	High rank	82.4%	17.6%
	Chi-Square Tests	9.882**	
	Sig.	0.002	

(**) p<0.01; (*) p<0.05

Significant differences were found with regard to the budgetary and activity variables and to that of the advisors’ status: 82.4% of the advisors who ranked the item high held senior positions and 72.2% were budgeted in the framework of their activities pertinent to the status of women. Advisors who ranked low included a high proportion of junior employees and those whose activities were not budgeted.

Table no. 8: The connection between the advisors’ ranking (high/low) of item C15 and receiving budgets and status

		Separate budget	
		No	Yes
Locating needs on the issue of advancing the status of women (C15)	Low rank	75.0%	25.0%
	High rank	23.1%	76.9%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.451*	
	Sig.	0.035	
		Position	
		Senior	Junior
	Low rank	50.0%	50.0%
	High rank	92.0%	8.0%
	Chi-Square Tests	5.116*	
	Sig.	0.024	

(*) p<0.05

The budget variable and the status of women indicate significant differences. Amongst advisors who ranked the item high 92.0% held a senior position in the authority and 76.9% were budgeted in the framework of their activities regarding the status of women. Amongst those who ranked low, there is an equal proportion of employees holding junior and senior positions and a higher proportion of advisors whose activities were not budgeted.

Thus an analysis of the advisors' profile according to high/low ranking of items selected from the secondary questionnaire C indicates that prominent differences are to be found in the advisors' success in budgeting their activities pertaining to advancing the status of women and the status of the advisors in the authority (senior versus junior). The proportion of those ranking high the various items was greater amongst advisors who held a senior status and managed to obtain budgets for their activities, while the proportion of those ranking low was higher amongst junior advisors who did not manage to obtain budgeting for their activities.

4.2.4 The advisors' assessment of their personal performance

In order to study the advisors' assessment of their personal performance, a 30-item questionnaire was compiled, phrased as statements. The advisors were asked to assess their performance for each of the statements on a 7-rank scale, wherein the higher the mark afforded, the higher their self-assessment (see secondary questionnaire D in the appendix). Table no. 9 presents the central and distribution indices for the items in the questionnaire on assessing the personal performance as advisor on the status of women.

Table no. 9: The central and distribution indices for the items in the questionnaire pertaining to assessing personal performance as advisor on the status of women (secondary questionnaire D)

No.	Content	Ranking level of position						
		N	Mean	Med	Mode	SD	Min	Max
1	To what extent is your position compatible with your abilities?	48	5.98	6	6	0.98	4	7
2	How do you assess your functioning/achievements?	47	5.28	5	6	1.10	3	7
3	How satisfied are you with your position?	47	5.28	6	6	1.35	2	7
4	How do you assess the training you received for your positions?	47	5.57	6	5	1.04	3	7
5	Are clear objectives stated in your job definition?	47	4.51	5	6	1.56	1	7
6	Are your job demands clear and understood by you?	47	5.38	6	6	1.33	1	7
7	Does your double position limit your scope of activity?	38	5.26	6	7	2.06	1	7
8	The degree of your cooperation with the decision-makers in the authority	48	5.13	5	6	1.28	2	7
9	Degree of success in raising issues to the municipal council sessions agenda	45	3.89	4	5	1.86	1	7
10	You attend municipal council sessions	46	4.20	4	1	2.23	1	7
11	You are an active participant in council sessions	45	3.18	3	1	1.87	1	7
12	You managed to focus attention on interest groups that did not benefit from it till now	44	4.57	5	5	1.58	1	7
13	An open and structured channel of communications between yourself and the local authority exists	48	5.48	6	7	1.90	1	7
14	There has been change in the method of handling by the local authority since your appointment	46	4.43	4.5	6	1.59	1	7
15	You are familiar with the decision-making process in the authority in which you work	47	5.64	6	6	1.41	1	7
16	There has been significant change in the number of women advanced to senior positions	47	3.49	4	4	1.57	1	6
17	There has been significant change in the dissemination of messages pertaining to the status of women	48	5.40	6	6	1.05	3	7

18	There is coordination between the various entities involved in the issue	46	4.87	5	6	1.53	1	7
19	The connection between the appointment of an advisor and involvement with the issue amongst decision-makers	47	4.81	5	6	1.64	1	7
20	There is support /encouragement amongst decision-makers for the issue	48	4.50	5	5	1.35	1	7
21	There is support/encouragement in the organizational environment for the issue	47	4.72	5	5	1.23	2	7
22	How satisfied are you with the method of achieving objectives?	46	4.41	5	6	1.47	1	7
23	Your ability to influence the decision-makers in the issues for which you are responsible	47	5.11	5	6	1.24	2	7
24	To what extent were decision-makers party in defining the objectives?	47	3.98	4	5	1.50	1	6
25	To what extent were the decision-makers party to realizing the objectives?	47	3.96	4	4	1.46	1	6
26	To what extent did the decision-makers understand the important of the issue?	48	4.52	5	5	1.53	1	7
27	Change occurred in the decision-makers perception since your started your job	47	4.70	5	5	1.32	1	7
28	Cooperation between the various factors advancing the issue prior to your appointment	47	2.72	3	2	1.42	1	7
29	Cooperation between the various factors advancing the issue after your appointment	46	5.09	5	6	1.30	2	7
30	You have enough authority to advance the issue for which you are responsible	42	4.48	5	4	1.88	1	7

The table indicates that the average assessment of the advisors' personal performance is usually of a medium to high level. Assessing the personal performance is perceived relatively high for three realms:

- Item no. 1: Compatibility of the role with ability (M= 5.98)
- Item no. 4: Assessing training for the position: M= 5.57)
- Item no. 15: Familiarity with the decision-making processes in the authority (M=5.64).

On the other hand, performance assessment for four items was relatively low, usually of a medium-low level.

- Item no. 9: Success in raising the subject to the agenda of the local authority (M=3.89)

- Item no. 11: Active participation in meetings of the local authority (M=3.18)
- Item no. 16: Significant change in the number of women advanced to senior positions (M=3.49)
- Item no. 28: Active participation between the various factors pertaining to advancing the subject prior to the advisor's appointment (M=2.72).

Furthermore, the table shows a broad variety of opinions amongst advisors spanning the entire scale.

In order to explore the differences in the profile of advisors' who ranked selected questionnaire items low (1-2) compared to those who ranked selected items high (6-7) frequency cross-tabulation was conducted and the chi square statistical value was calculated between the advisors' profile variables. The variables included education, status in the authority (junior/senior), receipt of separate salary as an advisor, budgeting the advisor's activities and items nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23-30 in the secondary questionnaire D. Table no. 10 presents only the cross-tabulation indicating significant differences. These are the items that the researcher believes best represent the objectives and goals set the advisors on the status of women in the framework of the law.

Table no. 10: The connection between the advisors' ranking (high/low) of the various items in the secondary questionnaire D and receiving budgets

		Separate budget	
		No	Yes
Clear objectives in role definition (D5)	Low rank	71.4%	28.6%
	High rank	23.5%	76.5%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.854*	
	Sig.	0.028	
Success in bringing the issue to the municipal council agenda (D9)	Low rank	66.7%	33.3%
	High rank	18.2%	81.8%
	Chi-Square Tests	5.490*	
	Sig.	0.019	
A structured and open channel of communications with the Mayor (13)	Low rank	80.0%	20.0%
	High rank	22.6%	77.4%
	Chi-Square Tests	6.690**	
	Sig.	0.010	
Change occurred in the frequency and way council copes since your appointment (D14)	Low rank	66.7%	33.3%
	High rank	20.0%	80.0%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.200*	
	Sig.	0.040	
The decision-makers are supportive of the issue (D20)	Low rank	80.0%	20.0%
	High rank	--	100.0%
	Chi-Square Tests	10.909**	
	Sig.	0.001	
Your ability to influence decision-makers (D23)	Low rank	100.0%	--
	High rank	30.4%	69.6%
	Chi-Square Tests	3.865*	
	Sig.	0.049	
The decision-makers were partner to achieving objectives (D25)	Low rank	66.7%	33.3%
	High rank	11.1%	88.9%
	Chi-Square Tests	5.844*	
	Sig.	0.016	
Cooperation exists between the various organizational factors to the benefit of advancing the issue after appointing an advisor (D29)	Low rank	66.7%	33.3%
	High rank	15.0%	85.0%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.093	
	Sig.	0.043	
The advisor has sufficient authority to advance the subject for which she is responsible (D30)	Low rank	75.0%	25.0%
	High rank	7.1%	92.9%
	Chi-Square Tests	10.805**	
	Sig.	0.001	

(**) p<0.01; (*) p<0.05

Significant differences were found in the advisors' profile for the items presented in the table above pertaining to their success in budgeting their activities on the advancement of the status of women.

- Item D5: 76.5% of the advisors received budgets in the framework of their activities on the status of women amongst advisors who gave high marks, while those ranked low show a higher proportion who were not budgeted
- Item D9: 81.8% of the advisors who ranked this item high are budgeted while there are more advisors whose activities were not budgeted amongst advisors who ranked low
- Item D13: 77.4% of the advisors who ranked the item high received budgets for their activities, while amongst those who ranked low the proportion of those not budgeted is higher
- Item D14: 80.8% of the advisors who ranked the item high receive budgets for their activities on the status of women, while the proportion of those not receiving budgets is higher amongst advisors ranked low
- Item D20: 100% of the advisors who ranked the item high are budgeted in the framework of their activities on the status of women, while amongst advisors who ranked low, 80% were not budgeted
- Item D23: 69.9% of the advisors who ranked the item high are budgeted, while 100% of advisors ranked low are not budgeted
- Item D25: 88.9% of the advisors who ranked this item high are budgeted while 66.7% of the advisors who ranked low are not budgeted
- Item D29: 85.0% of the advisors who ranked the item high are budgeted, while 66.7% who ranked low are not budgeted
- Item D30: 92.2% of the advisors who ranked the item high are budgeted, while 75% of those who ranked it low are not budgeted

Table no. 11: The connection between the advisors' ranking item D5 (high/low) and their status

		Position	
		Senior	Junior
Clear objectives in role definition (D5)	Low rank	100.0%	--
	High rank	50.0%	50.0%
	Chi-Square Tests	4.200*	

(*) p<0.05

100% of the advisors who ranked the item high held a senior position in the authority, while advisors who ranked the item low are divided equally between senior or junior positions.

Thus an analysis of the advisors’ profile according to high/low rank for the selected items from the secondary questionnaire D indicates that the prominent differences lie in their success in budgeting their activities pertaining to the advancement of the status of women. One item that relates to the definition of the position indicates a difference in the advisors’ status.

4.2.5 The perception of the support of decision-makers in the authority regarding the advancement of the status of women

In order to study the change in the attitude of decision-makers in the local authority to the subject of the status of women, the research population was presented with a list of seven senior role holders in the authority holding political positions (council members) or professional positions (heads of departments and key divisions). The research population was asked to rank the level of support for each of the role holders regarding the issue they attempt to advance on a 7-rank scale. The higher the rank awarded, the greater the support from each factor (see secondary questionnaire E in the appendix).

Table no. 12: Central and distribution indices for the items in the questionnaire regarding the decision-makers’ support for the issue of the status of women following the appointment of a mayoral advisor (secondary questionnaire E)

	Rank for level of support						
	N	Mean	Med	Mode	SD	Min	Max
Head of authority	46	5.04	6	6	1.90	1	7
Authority manager	41	4.56	5	5	1.70	1	7
Council members	45	4.47	5	5	1.55	1	7
Department heads							
Education	47	5.00	6	6	1.67	1	7
Human resources	45	4.09	4	5	1.72	1	7
Social services	45	5.29	6	7	1.74	1	7
Finance	47	3.96	4	5	1.71	1	7

The table indicates that the average level of support by senior role holders is usually perceived as medium to high. The head of the department of social services is, by definition, perceived as the most supportive factor (M=5.29), followed by the head of the authority (M=5.04) and the head

of the education department. In contrast, the head of the finance department is perceived by the advisors as the least supportive senior factor (M=3.96).

In order to explore differences in the profile of advisors who afforded low ranks (1-2) c ompared t o those ranking high (6-7) s elected i tems i n t he questionnaire, a frequency cross-tabulation was conducted and the chi square statistical value was calculated for the advisors’ profile variables. These included education, status in the authority (senior/junior), receipt of a separate salary as advisor, budget for their activities and items nos. 1, 3 and 7 in the secondary questionnaire E. Only the cross-tabulation findings indicating significant differences are presented.

Table no. 13: The connection between the advisors’ ranking (high/low) of the various items in secondary questionnaire E and their budgeting

		Separate budget	
		No	Yes
Head of local authority (E1)	Low rank	85.7%	14.3%
	High rank	16.7%	83.3%
	Chi-Square Tests	11.824**	
	Sig.	0.001	
Head of finance department (E7)	Low rank	80.0%	20.0%
	High rank	11.1%	88.9%
	Chi-Square Tests	9.017**	
	Sig.	0.003	

(**) p<0.01

The attitude of the two role holders show significant differences in the advisors’ profile with respect to their success in receiving funding for their activities regarding the advancement of the status of women.

The head of the authority: The activities of 83.3% of the advisors who ranked high the level of support by the authority head enjoy financing, while a similar percentage were not financed amongst those ranking the support low.

The head of the finance department: The activities of 88.9% of the advisors who ranked high the level of support of the head of the finance department are funded, while 80% of those ranking his support low were not financed.

4.2.6 Initiatives by decision-makers in the National Authority on the Advancement of the Status of Women

In order to study the initiatives by decision-makers in the authority pertaining to the advancement of the status of women, a 6-item questionnaire was compiled presenting diverse aspects of this issue. The research population was asked to rank the level of initiative of decision-makers for each aspect on a 7-rank scale. The higher the mark, the greater the initiative (see secondary questionnaire F in the appendix). Table no. 14 presents the central and distribution indices for the answers to this question.

Table no. 14: Central and distribution indices for the items in the questionnaire on initiatives by decision-makers to advance issues on the status of women (secondary questionnaire F)

Question no.	Content Rank for level of initiative	Rank for level of initiative						
		N	Mean	Med	Mode	SD	Min	Max
1	Allocating/increasing resources	44	3.32	4	5	1.681	1	6
2	Additional personnel	42	2.21	2	1	1.240	1	5
3	Initiating projects	45	4.00	5	6	2.023	1	7
4	Increasing awareness, information and communications	45	4.27	5	5	1.924	1	7
5	Support in decision-making	44	4.11	5	5	1.820	1	7
6	Creating a lobby/support groups and interest groups	44	3.95	4	5	1.855	1	7

The table indicates that the level of initiative by the decision-makers is perceived as medium-low by the research population. The areas in which the advisors reported a higher level of initiative are:

- Items no. 4: Raising the level of awareness, information and communications (M=4.27)
- Item no 5: Support in decision-making (M=4.11).

In contrast, the area perceived as most problematic with respect to the decision-makers initiatives is item no. 2 – additional personnel (M=2.21).

In order to explore possible differences in the profile of advisors who ranked low (1-2) compared to those who ranked high (6-7) for selected items in the questionnaire, a frequency cross-tabulation was conducted and the chi square statistical value was calculated between the advisors' profile, variables of education, status in the authority (senior/junior), receiving a separate salary as advisor, and financing their activities, and items nos. 1, 4, 5 in the secondary questionnaire F. These items are considered by the researcher to be most important in respect of the involvement and cooperation of senior role holders in the local authority regarding the status of women.

Only the cross-tabulation that indicates significant differences is presented below.

Table no. 15: The connection between the advisors' ranking (high/low) of the various items in the secondary questionnaire F and receiving financing

		Separate budget	
		No	Yes
Increasing awareness, information and communications	Low rank	70.0%	30.0%
	High rank	21.4%	78.6%
	Chi-Square Tests	5.662*	
	Sig.	0.017	
Support in decision-making	Low rank	81.8%	18.2%
	High rank	16.7%	83.3%
	Chi-Square Tests	9.763**	
	Sig.	0.002	

(**) p<0.01; (*) p<0.05

Significant differences were found in the advisors' profile from the perspective of their success in financing their activities on advancing the issue *vis-à-vis* the authority' decision-makers initiatives.

- Item no. 4: 78.6% of the advisors received financing for their activities on the status of women, while 70.0% of the advisors who ranked this item low were not financed.
- Item no. 5: The activities of 83.3% of the advisors who ranked this item high are financed while 81.8% of the advisors who ranked this item low are not financed.

4.3 Reliability test for the items

In order to explore the level of internal consistency for the items included in each secondary questionnaire (B-F) a reliability analysis was conducted between the items and the Cronbach alpha index was calculated. The findings are presented in table no. 16.

In order to calculate general research indices, based on the number of items belonging to that world of content, statistical analysis was necessary to explore the degree of consistency in the participants’ answers regarding the various items included in the index. The statistical analysis that explores the level of consistency between the items is the Cronbach alpha index of reliability. Two conditions must be met in order to determine the existence of consistency between several items:

- 1. The contribution of each of the items to the general consistency of the index should be 0.3 or higher.
- 2. The value of Cronbach’s alpha for the entire index should be 0.6 or higher (on a scale of 0-1).

Table no. 16: The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient between the items for the research indices

Index	Items	Alpha	Comments
The advisor's perception of the position (secondary questionnaire B, 11 items)			
	6,8,9,11-2	0.887	
	7,10	0.813	Item no. 1 removed from the index
Advisor’s perception of her success in advancing issues since her appointment (sub-question C, 17 items)			
	17-1	0.927	
Assessing personal performance as mayoral advisor on the status of women (sub-question D, 30 items)			
	30-1	0.950	Item no. 7 removed from index
Assessing attitude of decision-makers on the status of women (sub-question E, 7 items)			
	7-1	0.904	
Decision-makers initiatives for advancing issues pertaining to the status of women (sub-question F, 6 items)			
	6-1	0.956	

4.3.1 Reliability analysis of the items

1. The advisors' perception of their role: (Secondary questionnaire B, 11 items):

Two indices were constructed for the items pertaining to the perception of the role: Secondary index A – direct activity, with 8 items (nos. 2-6, 8, 9, 11) – $\alpha = 0.887$, and secondary index B – instructional programs on the advancement of women, which included 2 items (nos. 7, 10) – $\alpha = 0.813$. Item no. 1 (consideration of the authority's female employees) was not included in either of the two indices and was therefore excluded from the analysis. Similarly, items nos. 7 and 10 mentioned above were found to be inconsistent with the other items in the index, although there was high consistency between them. For this reason it was decided to create an additional secondary index.

2. The advisors' perception of their success in advancing issues since their appointment (secondary questionnaire C, 17 items): The level of questionnaire reliability was very high – $\alpha=0.927$.
3. Assessing personal performance as advisor to the head of the authority on the status of women (secondary questionnaire D, 30 items) indicates a very high level of questionnaire reliability $\alpha=0.950$. (Item no. 7 was excluded from the index since it did not contribute to the general consistency of the index).
4. Assessing the decision-makers' attitude regarding the status of women (secondary questionnaire E, 7 items): The level of questionnaire reliability was very high $\alpha=0.904$
5. Initiatives on the part of decision-makers on advancing issues pertaining to the status of women (secondary questionnaire F, 6 items): The level of questionnaire reliability was very high – $\alpha=0.956$.

Each of the research indices was calculated using a simple arithmetical average of values for all the items relevant to each participant. Table no. 17 presents the central and distribution indices for the average research variables.

Table no. 17: Central and distribution indices for the average research variables

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Perception of role - direct action	1.88	7.00	5.97	.92
Perception of role – instructional activities on the subject	2.00	7.00	5.55	1.34
Advisor’s success in advancing topics under her authority	1.00	6.35	4.46	1.07
Assessing personal performance	2.73	6.31	4.67	.91
Attitudes of decision makers to issue	1.00	7.00	4.65	1.37
Initiatives by decision-makers	1.00	6.33	3.70	1.63

The table indicates that the average mark is high (M=5.87, M=5.55) for the perception of the role both in direct activity and with respect to instructional programs. In other words, a clear attitude exists regarding the various parameters under the advisors’ jurisdiction.

The averages regarding the advisors’ performance and success in advancing the various issues indicate that, on average, the level of success perceived is average or higher: M=4.46 regarding success in advancing issues under their jurisdiction and M=4.67 regarding assessing personal performance.

4.4 Inference statistics

This section will present findings of two levels. Data from the analyses conducted for the average research indices will be presented first, followed by several statistical analyses of the individual items from the questionnaire. A more comprehensive and sensitive picture regarding the specific parameters within the average variables will thus be offered.

4.4.1 Analysis of the average research variables

In order to explore the possible connection between the advisors’ perception of their roles (1), their assessment of their performance (2), success in advancing diverse issues (3) and the support of the decision-makers regarding the status of women (4), a linear correlation test

between the research variables was conducted and Pearson’s correlation coefficient was calculated. Table no. 18 presents the matrix.

Table n o. 1 8: T he matrix of t he c orrelations between t he r esearch variables

		Role perception-direct activity	Role perception – instructional programs	Success in advancing issues in the role framework	Assessment of advisors’ performance	Support of decision-makers in local authorities	Initiatives by decision-makers on the issue
1	r	.483**	.317*	1			
	Sig	0.000	0.027	.			
	N	49	49	49			
2	r	0.034	0.219	.678**	1		
	Sig	0.819	0.135	0.000	.		
	N	48	48	47	48		
3	r	.377**	0.166	.701**	.871**	1	
	Sig	0.009	0.265	0.000	0.000	.	
	N	47	47	46	46	47	
4	r	0.051	0.092	.501**	.723**	.746**	1
	Sig	0.741	0.547	0.001	0.000	0.000	.
	N	45	45	44	45	44	45

(**) p<0.01; (*) p<0.05

The table indicates significant correlation coefficients between the various research indices:

- A positive significant correlation between the perception of the role, direct activity and the success in advancing issues in the framework of the role (r(49)=0.483; p<0.01). A high perception of the role predicts success in fulfilling it.
- A positive significant correlation between the perception of the role – direct activity and support by decision-makers in the authority: (r(47)=0.377; p<0.01). The greater the advisors’ belief in their position, the greater the support by the decision-makers within the authority.
- A significant positive correlation between the perception of the role – instructional programs - and success in advancing issues in the framework of the position (r(49)=0.317; p<0.05). The more the advisors believe in their job, the higher they assess it.

- A significant positive correlation between success in advancing issues in the framework of their position and assessing their performance ($r(47)=0.678$; $p<0.01$). The more positively the advisors assess their performance, the better they manage to perform their tasks under their jurisdiction.
- A significant positive correlation between advisors' success in advancing issues in the framework of their position and support by decision-makers in the authority ($r(46)=0.071$; $p<0.01$). The more information the advisors gather regarding the support by the decision-makers, the better they manage to perform tasks within the framework of their position.
- A significant positive correlation between the advisors' success in advancing issues in the framework of their position and initiatives by decision-makers on advancing the status of women ($r(44)=0.501$; $p<0.01$). Advisors who manage to recruit decision-makers to the good of the cause performed their tasks better.
- A significant positive correlation between assessing the advisors' performance and support of the decision-makers in the authority ($r(46)=0.871$; $p<0.01$). Advisors whose self-esteem is high receive more support from the decision-makers in the authority.
- A significant positive correlation between assessing the advisors' performance and initiatives by decision-makers regarding advancing the status of women ($r(45)=0.723$; $p<0.01$). Advisors whose self-esteem is high report a higher level of initiative by the decision-makers.
- A significant positive correlation between support of the decision-makers in the authority and initiatives by decision-makers pertaining to the status of women ($r(44)=0.746$; $p<0.01$).

4.5 Variance tests for the average research indices

In order to explore the differences between advisors regarding the average research indices, variance tests were performed for their background variables. The most prominent differences are presented below.

In general, differences were not found for the advisors with respect to the research indices. As may be noted below, several differences were observed pertaining to the perception of success in implementing the role between the advisors who enjoy financing compared to those who are not funded. This is also true of advisors who reached their position from another senior position compared to those who held a junior position

prior to their appointment. Significant differences were not noted with respect to the perception of the advisory role.

Table no. 19: Differences between advisors who received financial support for their activities and success in the position

	Not budgeted		Budgeted		F(1,47)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Advisors' success in advancing issues under their jurisdiction	3.94	1.16	4.85	0.81	10.372; p=0.002
Assessing personal performance	4.06	0.81	5.1	0.71	22.365; p=0.000
Attitude of decision-makers to subject	3.93	1.46	5.19	1.04	11.931; p=0.001
Initiatives by decision-makers	2.88	1.54	4.24	1.47	8.873; p=0.005

(**) p<0.01

The table indicates the existence of significant differences between the advisors for all four average indices of assessing success in the advisory capacity. All advisors enjoying special budgets for their activities reported greater success compared to those who were not funded.

Table no. 20: The differences between the advisors reaching their role from a senior, compared to a junior, position and the success in advancing issues under their jurisdiction

	Senior		Junior		F(1,43)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Advisors' success in advancing subject	4.76	0.79	3.67	1.52	9.767; p=0.003

(**) p<0.01

The table indicates a significant difference between the advisors regarding success in advancing issues under their jurisdiction (F(1,43)=9.767; p<0.01). Advisors attaining this position from a senior status reported a higher level of success (M=4.76) compared to those arriving from a junior position (M=3.67).

4.6 Data regarding diverse questionnaire items

4.6.1 Variance tests

- a. The differences between the advisors according to their level of education – a one way ANOVA test

Are there differences between the advisors according to their level of education? In order to answer this question one-way ANOVA tests were conducted, with the key findings presented below.

Table no. 21: Variance test for research items according to the level of the advisors' education

Item	Subject	High school and post high school	B.A.	M.A.	df	F	Sig
Pertaining to perception of position							
Success in advancing the subject							
C11	Developing professional support networks for women	4.07	3.17	4.38	2,45	3.257	0.048
C14	Initiating unique instructional programs for advancement of women	4.23	4.61	5.75	2,44	3.791	0.030
Assessing advisors' performance							
D1	Degree to which position s compatible with abilities	5.50	6.00	6.38	2,45	3.284	0.047

Significant differences were found between the advisors for three items according to their level of education. Two significant differences exist in success in advancing various issues under their jurisdiction:

1. Developing professional support groups for women ($F(2,45)=3.257$; $p<0.05$)
2. Initiating special instructional activities for the advancement of the status of women ($F(2,44)=3.791$; $p<0.05$).

Advisors holding a M.A. degree reported greatest success in these domains.

One significant difference was found regarding personal role assessment. The higher their education, the higher the advisors' assessment of the degree to which they felt their position was compatible with their personal abilities ($F(2,45)=3.284$; $p<0.05$).

b. T-test according to financing activities

In order to explore the differences between advisors whose activities are and are not budgeted a t-test for independent samples was conducted with the findings presented in the tables below.

Table no. 22: The differences between the advisors according to budgeted activities for items from the questionnaire and the successful advancement of issues under their jurisdiction

Item	Content	No budget	Budget	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
C1	Success in increasing budget	2.90	4.67	-4.554	45	.000
C2	Increasing public awareness	4.70	5.64	-3.070	46	.004
C3	Establishing interest groups	3.95	5.04	-2.185	45	.034
C6	Preventing violence against women	4.26	5.30	-2.603	44	.013
C9	Bringing the issue to decision-makers awareness	4.38	5.30	-2.218	46	.032
C11	Developing professional support groups for women	3.24	4.30	-2.552	46	.014
C13	Developing multi-annual program	4.14	5.41	-2.679	46	.010
C14	Initiating unique instructional activities or the advancement of women	4.20	5.41	-2.597	45	.013
C15	Identifying the needs regarding advancing the status of women	4.67	5.74	-2.641	46	.011
C17	Furthering educational programs for gender equality	3.86	4.96	-2.108	46	.041

Significant differences were found for 10 items from the questionnaire exploring success in advancing issues under the advisors' jurisdiction. The clear trend in these averages is the advisors, who receive special financing for their activities on advancing the status of women, reporting greater success in fulfilling the demands of the position.

Table no. 23: The differences between advisors receiving budgets for their activities for items from the questionnaire and assessing personal performance

Item	Content	No budget	Budget	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
D1	To what extent is your position compatible with your abilities?	5.50	6.32	-3.124	46	.003
D2	How do you assess your functioning/achievements?	4.68	5.68	-3.375	45	.002
D3	How satisfied are you with your position?	4.53	5.79	-3.513	45	.001
D4	How do you assess the training you received for your positions?	5.05	5.93	-3.095	45	.003
D5	Are clear objectives stated in your job definition?	3.84	4.96	-2.565	45	.014
D6	Are your job demands clear and understood by you?	4.65	5.93	-3.673	45	.001
D8	The degree of your cooperation with the decision-makers in the authority	4.50	5.57	-3.106	46	.003
D10	You attend municipal council sessions	3.26	4.85	-2.520	44	.015
D11	You are an active participant in council sessions	2.47	3.69	-2.252	43	.030
D12	You focus attention on interest groups that did not benefit from it till now	3.89	5.04	-2.523	42	.016
D13	An open and structured channel of communications between yourself and the local authority	4.45	6.21	-3.535	46	.001
D14	There has been change in the method of handling by the local authority since your appointment	3.75	4.96	-2.748	44	.009
D15	You are familiar with the decision-making process in the authority in which you work	5.15	6.00	-2.127	45	.039
D17	There has been significant change in the dissemination of messages pertaining to the status of women	4.95	5.71	-2.649	46	.011
D18	There is coordination between the various entities involved in the issue	4.05	5.44	-3.372	44	.002
D19	The connection between the appointment of an advisor and involvement with the issue amongst decision-makers	4.10	5.33	-2.726	45	.009
D20	There is support /encouragement amongst decision-makers for the issue	3.80	5.00	-3.342	46	.002

D21	There is support/encouragement in the organizational environment for the issue	4.21	5.07	-2.487	45	.017
D22	There has been significant change in the dissemination of messages pertaining to the status of women	3.53	5.04	-3.952	44	.000
D23	Your ability to influence the decision-makers in the issues for which you are responsible	4.60	5.48	-2.555	45	.014
D25	To what extent were the decision-makers party to realizing the objectives?	3.45	4.33	-2.130	45	.039
D26	To what extent did the decision-makers understand the important of the issue?	4.00	4.89	-2.061	46	.045
D27	Change occurred in the decision-makers perception since your started your job	4.15	5.11	-2.627	45	.012
D29	Cooperation between the various factors advancing the issue after your appointment	4.44	5.50	-2.910	44	.006
D30	You have enough authority to advance the issue for which you are responsible	3.29	5.28	-3.907	40	.000

Significant differences were found for 25 items from the questionnaire that explored personal performance assessment. The clear trend in these findings is that the advisors who receive special budgets for financing their activities on the status of women report more positive assessment compared to those who do not receive special funding.

Table no. 24: Differences between advisors according to those receiving budgets for their activities for items from the questionnaire and support from decision-makers

Item	Content	No budget	Budget	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)
E1	Mayor	3.95	5.88	-3.945	44	.000
E2	Authority manager	3.69	5.12	-2.851	39	.007
E3	Council members	3.84	4.92	-2.444	43	.019
E6	Services	4.63	5.77	-2.265	43	.029
E7	Finances	2.80	4.81	-4.904	45	.000

In general, advisors who receive a separate budget for their activities reported a higher level of support from the various position holders in the authority, including the Mayor, City Manager, council members and heads of the departments of social services and finance.

Table no. 25: The differences between advisors according to budgetary allocation for their activities, for items from the questionnaire regarding initiative by decision-makers

Item	Content	No budget	Budget	t	df	Sig (2-tailed)
F1	Allocating/increasing budget	2.47	3.85	-2.868	42	0.006
F2	Additional personnel	1.72	2.58	-2.346	40	0.024
F3	Initiating projects	3.22	4.52	-2.196	43	0.034
F4	Raising awareness, information and communications	3.44	4.81	-2.474	43	0.017
F5	Support of decision-making	3.11	4.81	-3.391	42	0.002
F6	Creating support and interest groups	3.17	4.50	-2.481	42	0.017

In general, advisors who received a separate budget for their activities reported a greater initiative by the decision-makers within the authority in all domains included in the questionnaire.

- c. Comparison between the situation prior to and following the appointment of an advisor regarding cooperation between the diverse organizational factors on advancing the status of women

A paired sample t-test was conducted between items nos. 28 and 29 in the questionnaire assessing personal performance by the advisors (secondary questionnaire D). The findings are presented in table no. 26.

Table no. 26: Cooperation between the various elements in the authority benefiting advancing the issue of the status of women prior to and following the appointment of an advisor

	Average	SD	Difference	T(44)	Sig
Prior to appointment of mayoral advisor	2.69	1.41	2.38	11.242	.000
After appointment of mayoral advisor	5.07	1.30			

The findings clearly indicate that, according to the reports of the research population, a positive change occurred in the level of cooperation between the various elements in the authority benefiting the advancement of the subject of the status of women following the appointment of an advisor ($T(44)=11.242$; $p<0.01$). The level of cooperation reported prior to the appointment was $M=2.69$ while thereafter it was $M=5.07$. The differences between the averages is $M=2.38$.

This finding supports the assumption that following the appointment of an advisor, cooperation between the various factors in the authority will increase in favor of advancing the status of women.

d. Correlation matrices between the secondary variables – increasing awareness, budgetary allocations and cooperation by the decision-makers

The data presented below rely on selected items for the secondary questionnaires (B-F) that explored the most significant domains, the researcher believes, pertaining to implementing the Law for the Advancement of the Status of Women in Local Authorities. The domains and items included are presented in table no. 27.

Table no. 27: Selected secondary indices from the various secondary questionnaires

Sub-question	Issue/domain	Items from questionnaire	Cronbach's alpha
B - perception of the position	Increasing awareness of the issue of the status of women	Average of items nos. 3,9,11	0.869
	Allocating budgets	6	--
C – success furthering issue	Increasing awareness of the issue of the status of women	Average of items nos.2,9,15	0.744
	Budgetary allocations	1	--
D – assessing advisor's performance	Increasing awareness of the issue of the status of women	Average of items nos. 9,17	0.507
	Understanding roles	Average of items nos.6,15,30	0.695
	Cooperation with decision-makers	Average of items nos. 8-13,14,19, 30-21,23	0.940
E – decision-makers' support	Head of authority	1	--
	Council members	3	--
	Head of finance dept.	7	--
F – decision-makers' initiatives	Resource allocations	1	--
	Raising awareness of issue	4	--
	Support for decision-making	5	--

(*) $p<0.05$

Pearson correlation matrices were calculated according to the division and worlds of content presented in the above table, with the findings presented in the tables below.

Table no. 28: The connection between the secondary indices of the role perception (B), success in the role (C), assessing personal performance (D) and assessing support by decision-makers (E, F)

			Perception of role	
			Secondary questionnaire B	
			Increasing awareness/ determining agenda	Recruiting budget
Success in position (Secondary questionnaire C)	Increasing awareness/determining agenda	r	.336*	0.227
		Sig.	0.018	0.117
		N	49	49
	Recruiting budgets	r	0.096	0.229
		Sig.	0.52	0.122
		N	47	47
Assessing personal performance (Secondary questionnaire D)	Increasing awareness/determining agenda	r	-.321*	-0.057
		Sig.	0.026	0.703
		N	48	48
	Understanding position	r	-0.009	0.055
		Sig.	0.951	0.71
		N	48	48
	Achieving cooperation by decision-makers	r	-0.208	-0.049
		Sig.	0.155	0.742
		N	48	48
Support by decision-makers (Secondary questionnaire E)	Mayor	r	0.077	0.246
		Sig.	0.612	0.1
		N	46	46
	Council members	r	0.257	0.198
		Sig.	0.088	0.191
		N	45	45
	Head of finance department	r	0.152	0.094
		Sig.	0.307	0.532
		N	47	47

Initiatives by decision-makers (Secondary questionnaire F)	Allocating/increasing budget	r	-0.159	0.179
		Sig.	0.302	0.246
		N	44	44
	Increasing awareness, information and communications	r	-0.07	0.188
		Sig.	0.648	0.215
		N	45	45
	Support in decision-making	r	-0.019	0.16
		Sig.	0.902	0.299
		N	44	44

(*) $p < 0.05$

The table indicates that there is hardly any connection between the way in which the advisors perceive their role and the way in which they assess its implementation and/or their success in the role. Only two significant correlations were found:

1. A significant positive correlation between the perception of the role in the domain of increasing awareness and success in the role in that same domain: ($r(49)=0.336$; $p < 0.05$). The more the advisors perceive their role as such that demands acting to increase awareness of the issue of the status of women and determining the agenda, the greater the success they report in this domain.
2. However, a significant negative correlation was found between the perception of the role in the domain of increasing awareness and personal assessment of the role in that domain ($r(48)= -0.321$; $p < 0.05$). The more the advisors perceive their job as such that demands acting towards increasing awareness of the issue and determining the agenda, the lower they assess their activities in this domain.

Table no. 29: The connection between the secondary indices of success in the position (C), personal assessment of the performance (D) and assessing support by the decision-makers (E, F)

			Success in role	
			Secondary questionnaire C	
			Increasing awareness/ determining agenda	Recruiting budgets
Assessing personal performance (Secondary questionnaire D)	Increasing awareness/ determining agenda	r	.659**	.555**
		Sig.	0.000	0.000
		N	47	45
	Understanding the role	r	.454**	.519**
		Sig.	0.001	0.000
		N	47	45
	Increasing cooperation by decision-makers	r	.534**	.509**
		Sig.	0.000	0.000
		N	47	45
Support by decision-makers (Secondary questionnaire E)	Head of authority	r	.554**	.614**
		Sig.	0.000	0.000
		N	46	44
	Council member	r	.626**	.500**
		Sig.	0.000	0.001
		N	45	43
	Head of finance department	r	.533**	.494**
		Sig.	0.000	0.001
		N	46	44
Initiatives by decision-makers (Secondary questionnaire F)	Allocating/increasing budget	r	.423**	.531**
		Sig.	0.005	0
		N	43	41
	Increasing awareness, information and communications	r	.368*	.382*
		Sig.	0.014	0.013
		N	44	42
	Support in decision-making	r	.366*	.504**
		Sig.	0.015	0.001
		N	44	42

(**) $p < 0.01$; (*) $p < 0.05$

The table indicates significant positive correlations between the two indices of the advisors' assessment of their performance in their positions, and the secondary indices for personal performance assessment and support by decision-makers. The above table presents all the correlations. The following are the highest detailed correlations (above 0.6):

- A significant positive correlation between reports of success in the position regarding increasing awareness and assessing personal performance in that domain: ($r(47)=0.659$; $p<0.01$). The greater the success reported by the advisors with respect to increasing awareness, the higher their personal performance assessment.
- A significant positive correlation was found between reporting success in the position regarding increasing awareness and achieving support for their activities by decision-makers ($r(45)=0.626$; $p<0.01$). The greater the success reported by the advisors in increasing awareness, the more they managed to recruit the council members to the good of the subject.
- A significant positive correlation was found between reporting success in the role with respect to recruiting budgets and achieving support for their activities from the Mayor ($r(44)=0.614$; $p<0.01$). The greater the success reported by the advisors regarding recruiting budgets for their activities, the more they reported greater support by the Mayor.

Thus despite the above presenting only the highest correlations, one may claim that the greater the success reported by the advisors in fulfilling their role in issues pertaining to increasing awareness of the issue and recruiting budgets, the more they will report higher self assessment, as well as greater support and help from role holders and decision-makers in the authority.

Table no. 30: The connection between secondary indices for assessing personal performance (D) and assessing the support by decision-makers (E, F)

			Assessing personal performance		
			Secondary questionnaire D		
			Increasing awareness/ determining agenda	Understanding role	Achieving cooperation of decision-makers
Support of decision-makers (Secondary questionnaire E)	Mayor	r	.656**	.528**	.837**
		Sig.	0.000	0.000	0.000
		N	45	45	45
	Council members	r	.642**	.707**	.710**
		Sig.	0.000	0.000	0.000
		N	44	44	44
	Head of finance dept.	r	.543**	.507**	.689**
		Sig.	0.000	0.000	0.000
		N	46	46	46
Initiatives by decision-makers (Secondary questionnaire F)	Allocating/increasing budgets	r	.555**	.363*	.713**
		Sig.	0.000	0.015	0.000
		N	44	44	44
	Increasing awareness, information and communications	r	.597**	0.255	.716**
		Sig.	0.000	0.091	0.000
		N	45	45	45
	Support in decision-making	r	.613**	.412**	.786**
		Sig.	0.000	0.005	0.000
		N	44	44	44

(**) p<0.01; (*) p<0.05

The table indicates the existence of significant positive correlations of medium-high level between the three indices of the advisors’ assessment of their personal performance and receiving support and help from the decision-makers and senior role holders in the authority. The above table presents all the correlations, with the highest correlations detailed below.

- A significant positive correlation between assessment and understanding the position and recruiting support from the council members ($r(44)=0.707$; $p<0.01$). The higher the level of understanding the position reported by the advisors, the better they manage to recruit council members to advancing of the subject under their jurisdiction.
- A significant positive correlation between the advisors' assessment of their ability to achieve cooperation by the decision-makers and support by the Mayor ($r(45)=0.837$; $p<0.01$), council members ($r(44)=0.710$; $p<0.01$) and the head of the finance department ($r(46)=0.689$; $p<0.01$). The greater the ability reported by the advisors of their ability to achieve cooperation by the decision-makers, the better they manage to recruit the Mayor, council members and the head of the finance department to advancing the status of women.
- A significant positive correlation between the advisors' assessment of their ability to achieve cooperation with the decision-makers and initiatives by them in diverse domains: Budget allocations ($r(44)=0.713$; $p<0.01$), increasing awareness ($r(45)=0.716$; $p<0.01$) and support for decision-making ($r(44)=0.786$; $p<0.01$). The greater the ability reported by the advisors in realizing cooperation with the decision-makers, the greater the initiatives by the decision-makers for advancing issues pertaining to the status of women.

Thus although the above present only the highest correlations, one may conclude that the higher the advisors assessment of their performance with respect to increasing awareness, understanding their role and cooperation with decision-makers, the greater the support and help from role holders and decision-makers in the authority. The findings would seem to indicate a distinct connection between their status in the organization and their ability to influence the decision-makers and the organization's budgetary allocations. The issue of budget is found to be the key variable predicting their ability to succeed in the local authority and their position in the organizational hierarchy.

The findings testify clearly to the changes occurring in the perception and approach to the subject following the appointment of mayoral advisors. These are explained mainly by the connection between the variables of the advisors' profile and their status in the organization and their ability to lead to the allocation of resources in favor of the topic.

The distinct positive correlations clearly support the research hypotheses regarding the potential impact of the appointment of mayoral advisors on shaping policy on the advancement of the status of women. A detailed discussion of the findings is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

This thesis aims to explore policy regarding the advancement of women and their integration at *foci* of power and decision-making in public administration starting from the stage of adopting policy, as manifested in the Local Authorities Law on the Appointment of Mayoral Advisors on the Status of Women (2000).

Until now the basis for this analysis focused on the historical, legal, economic and cultural approaches, while ignoring the approach entailing applying policy as used by researchers into public administration. This study attempts to examine the place of female representation at *foci* of power and the impact on public administration, as the key for the reasonable advancement of female interests in Israel from 2000–2004 from the perspective of the approaches to applying policy. It therefore focuses on examining the impact of the appointment of mayoral advisors on the advancement of the status of women on the decision-making mechanisms in local authorities. It further analyses the activities as a mechanism to promote the process of significant change in the perception of the subject at the *foci* of influence and the public agenda.

This research was intended to investigate the activities of these advisors at two main levels of activity:

1. In raising the political-public awareness and prominence of the subject to the public agenda
2. In influencing the division of economic resources for the subject

To this end the study combines two approaches: The “top down” approach and the “bottom up” approach.

According to the first approach, the starting point for the analysis is the Local Authorities Law (2000) that demands of mayors to appoint an advisor on the advancement of the status of women. The discussion will present an analysis of the objectives of the law as the opening point for every examination of the degree of effectiveness of the policy determined and the processes of its application.

The second, “bottom up”, approach focuses on the agents of change in the field, i.e., the advisors who, by the power of law, are responsible for planning and implementing the policy on the advancement of the status of women in local authorities.

5.1 The Local Authorities Law (2000) – an analysis according to the “top down” approach

One of the subjects with which theories of applying policy cope is the degree to which the policy affords an effective solution for the problem it is supposed to solve. According to the “top down” approach, the starting point for the study is the Local Authorities Law, 2000. The problem of policy, as well as the target audience towards which it is addressed, is manifested in the objectives of the law, whose exploration is, therefore, the starting point for every examination of the degree of policy effectiveness.

One of the derivatives of this approach is the approach of the symbolic policy that expands the researcher’s perspective of the issue of allocating resources for implementing policy, allocating authority to factors that are supposed to promote the change and enforce policy, and the rhetoric embedded in the policy objectives noted in the law.

Policy makers will present an attractive policy for public consumption testifying, as it were, to the intentions in the various domains. However, an in-depth exploration of the policy declarations removes the capturing externality and reveals the two first attributes: Ambiguous objectives and the lack of resources for applying policy.

The impressive externalities of the symbolic policy are the reason for the decision-makers choosing it repeatedly. They thereby shape their image in society or enjoy the support of important interest groups. At the same time they are not forced to invest resources in policy that does not head their priorities or that they cannot actually implement.

Section 2 of the Law refers to the appointment of advisors on the status of women (see appendix no. 1).

“The local authority shall appoint an advisor on the status of women who will be an employee of the local authority at one of four highest ranks in the ranking to which she belongs and is customary in that authority.... Fulfilling the position of advisor on the status of women may be in addition to another position that she fulfills in the authority, as long as the latter does not interfere with fulfilling the position as advisor on the status of women..”

This section clearly emphasizes the obligation to appoint an advisor according to the instructions of the Ministry of the Interior, but leaves the way in which the person is appointed up to the local authority.

The advisors' rank and status are not determined by law, and leave room for decision to the head of the local authority. It makes no mention of financial compensation for the position. It even emphasizes that "as long as her employment is financed in the budgetary framework approved by the local authority" (see appendix no. 1).

The very avoidance of making a clear division regarding the advisors' rank and financial compensation testify to the desire to avoid demanding an additional senior slot opening in the authority. It further is evidence of change in the framework of the existing budget that is liable to arouse opposition and create significant change in the perception of the subject amongst decision-makers.

It is clear that the approach adopted is one of incremental, gradual change that represents a series of continuous processes that preserve the general organizational balance but affects only part of it. This is public policy that develops gradually through careful, marginal change. Dual roles that the law quite clearly allows, and the lack of compensation for the additional position, already testify to the attitude of policy-makers towards the subject. This is the source of the functional difficulties for the advisor and the attitude towards their additional role.

Section 3, pertaining to the training conditions, defines the advisor as having "an academic background or professional or practical experience of at least two years in areas pertinent to the status of women" (see appendix no. 1).

The possibility of appointing advisors who do not have an academic education affects the attitude to the organizational status and position, and, subsequently, their ability to integrate and influence the *foci* of power in the organization.

The study proves that educational and professional status in the organization are the significant variables with respect to the advisors' ability to influence the decision-makers and alter the attitude to the subject in their professional and political surroundings.

Section 4 of the Law (see appendix no. 1) defines the advisors as directly subordinate to the Mayor, but totally ignores their professional status in view of their additional position and ability to maneuver around the organizations' complexities. The section mentions the purpose of the role:

"The advisor ...will work together with the head of the local authority to plan policy on the advancement of the status of women within the authority, its implementation and allocating resources to this end"

There is, however, no mention of the advisors' authority to realize their position, and no mention of the length of their appointment. Here, too, it would seem to be a symbolic component of the policy manifested in the Local Authority Law (2000), together with the absence of allocating authority and resources to apply the reform. This will create understandable difficulties in applying the policy.

Analysis of the advisors' activities indicates that most of them handle significant difficulties in furthering the issue and in altering the attitude towards it by decision-makers. Due to the implementation difficulties emanating from the letter of the law and the disparity between agreement with the value, and shaping and promoting real policy, it would seem that the policy on advancing the status of women through the appointment of a mayoral advisor on the topic entails components of symbolic policy. This policy may also be used as a mechanism for starting the process of change amongst decision-makers in public administration. Studies that refer to the implications of the degree of dependency on the gap between policy and the degree of implementation (Smith, 1973; Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975) note that implementing policy is connected to the degree of agreement over policy objectives, the resources at the disposal of those implementing policy, and the degree of efficiency of the supervision to assure implementing the policy.

According to Smith (1987), the disparity between policy and implementation is created when there is a shortage of personnel for implementing policy, and when there are differences in the perception of the needs. Doron (1986) believes that there are factors that afford constraints and limitations for applying the policy, such as consciously ignoring the cost of enforcing policy, between the intentions of policy-makers (as set by law) and understanding by those implementing it, and a lack of talent and ability amongst those implementing the policy.

The research findings in fact raise the profile variables of the advisors as explaining the ability to succeed, influencing the order of priorities and generating change in the perception of the issue by decision-makers. One of the strategic means perceived as an index of success is the issue of allocating resources as an expression of making the *foci* of power and influence aware of the topic, and as a possible basis for significant activity to promote the issue.

Jones (1986) postulates that successful policy implementation depends on explaining the policy objectives, on creating correct communications, on conveying intentions, on cooperation by the organizational factors, and on assuring an organizational environment that leads to this, such as assuring material sources and affording Authority to the relevant factors. The Local Authorities Law (2002) does not fulfill these conditions due to its regulations, hence the difficulty in implementing the policy by agents of change, which in this case are the advisors in the local authorities.

Determining the order of priorities in society is influenced by the degree of recognition by policy makers of the existence of problems in public policy. Two basic conditions must exist to solve this:

1. The situation has been identified by policy-makers or by other entities as one demanding a public solution.
2. The problem must be raised to the public agenda so that decision-makers include it in the list of issues needing attention. This is likely to generate change in the policy-makers' attitudes.

According to the "top down" type of analysis, the Local Authorities Law (2000) stems from recognition by policy makers of the problem associated with the status of women. There is no doubt that despite the symbolic components of the law itself, its regulations forcing the mayor to appoint an advisor embrace a catalyst for raising the subject to the public agenda. It also has the potential for motivating the process of change at decision-making *foci*. At the same time, policy-makers seem to prefer to operate adopt the incremental approach to decision-making in public policy. The advantage of this method lies in the possibility of reaching solutions agreed by the various groups, to prevent broad disagreement regarding extensive change and to afford an additional supportive process of moderate, but consistent change, in society.

Wildavsky and Caiden (1997) offer additional support for this approach in their exploration of the method of determining public policy as regards making budgetary decisions, wherein the budget is the financial reflection of the policy-makers' intentions.

The problem lies in the fact that designating budget in the public sector is mainly predetermined by annual ongoing commitments, and only a small part of the budget can be altered. Most of the arguments revolve around this issue, hence it is very difficult to initiate dramatic changes in policy, and the possibilities for modification are but marginal.

The legislative process as described in the Local Authorities Law (2000) and in the research literature is manifested in the efforts of many female politicians and members of the *Knesset* who supported the proposed law despite its limitations.

Regardless of the limitations emanating from the ambiguous instructions pertaining to the resources and authority, the law is nevertheless a significant breakthrough in recognizing the need for integrating women at *foci* of decision-making in order to influence the order of priorities regarding the issues handled by the local authority.

One of the possibilities for studying the shaping of policy as manifested in the law, is holding interviews with those participating in the process. The areas of interest and the questions were determined prior to the interviews with stakeholders. All the questions were open so that the interviewee would not feel bound to set worlds of content and thereby afforded entry to their perceptual world. It should be stressed that such interviews do not denote any intention of realizing a comprehensive generalization, but offer the discovery of attributes common to the research population.

In order to complete the analysis of the Local Authorities Law (2000) several structured interviews were held with key figures who accompanied the legislative process. These included a *Knesset* member and the chairperson of the Committee on the Advancement of the Status of Women in the *Knesset*, the head of the Authority on the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office, the Prime Minister's advisor on the status of women, the advisor on the status of women in the IULA, and the secretary general responsible for the local authorities in the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women.

Four main topics were discussed in the interviews:

1. The objectives of the proposed law
2. The main problems in the legislative process
3. The difficulties stemming from the legal regulations
4. The achievements resulting from passage of the law

The data gathered in the interviews support a high level of compatibility with the research findings. It transpires that the symbolic components included in the Local Authorities Law (2000) are identical with those existing in the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women Law (1998). This law also assures a legal basis for establishing a national Authority for advancing the status of women, operating from the Prime Minister's Office and directly subordinate to him, leaving the Authority as an entity lacking teeth, and without the financial resources and enforcement ability.

The announcement of the Civil Service Commission (1997), that included the establishment of a department for the advancement and integration of women, is rather ambiguous regarding the framework in which those responsible for the issue operate. It is similarly unclear regarding the issues with which they deal, and the limitations that delineate the role, including enforcement and allocating budgets.

Nevertheless, the issue of integrating women at all *foci* of political influence, with respect to determining policy and the order of public priorities, is of supreme importance for all those involved in advancing the status of women, thereby leading to the legislation regarding the appointment of the advisors in local authorities.

In conversations with the interviewees mentioned above, similar issues arose regarding the necessity and importance of appointing a central functionary who determines policy and coordinates activity pertinent to the issue, particularly regarding information and raising awareness of the needs of women to creating social equality.

The main difficulty with which they had to cope in the legislative process, and which arose clearly in the interviews, was the difficulty in forcing the heads of the local authorities to allocate a position opening and additional budgets for the intended appointment. This was a result of the local authorities' difficult financial situation. In a period in which the resources are addressed mainly to national security, governmental support of the local authorities is decreasing, primarily with respect to social issues. This is due to the nation's intensive involvement with security.

Policy makers involved in the legislative process of the above law noted their support of the importance of promoting the issue. However, they purposely avoided relating to the topic of resources for implementing the law in order to avoid creating significant change in the authorities' budgets and thereby create opposition to adopting the initiative. It was nevertheless important to them to support the declaratory policy favoring the advancement of the status of women and to transfer the problems of implementation to the domain of the agents of change in the authorities, i.e., to the advisors.

The interviewees, and mainly the *Knesset* member, who led the step, noted that the most important issue at that point was the discussion itself, and clarifying the diverse possibilities and findings ways to bridge the various demands. This is a political game. This is the democratic method of bringing issues to the public agenda. It is important for the women's voice to be heard in these negotiations and for there to be as broad a variety in order to express the varied needs of the entire female population.

The most significant fact arising from the discussions is that the greater the number of women in decisive positions, the awareness of the particular problems of women will also increase and will find practical expression. If women learn the rules of the political game they will be able to reach positions of power and thereby raise the issue to the public agenda. They must therefore work to include the female aspect in every domain of political life. This is the mainstreaming principle, presented as a central objective in the legislation process, and is one of the prominent achievements of the law despite its limitations.

The Local Authorities Law (2000) that demands of Mayors to appoint an advisor on the status of women affords a significant breakthrough, according to the interviewees. Despite the difficulties stemming from it, which they do not ignore, they view them as part of the gradual process of recognizing the need to further the issue. Legal opportunities are created to promote such a step in every local authority in Israel to change the perception and attitude towards the necessary subject.

They mainly stressed that the appointment of mayoral advisors, as demanded by law, expresses taking responsibility by the establishment for this important domain, while emphasizing the direct involvement of the person heading the local authority.

The interviewees further noted that despite the ambiguity of the law and their limited authority, the enforcement ability and the lack of resources, the key activities focus on raising the issue to the public awareness. There is no doubt that the Local Authorities Law (2000) is the product of this activity, of all the factors in the political system who recognize the rules of the political game and the decision-making procedure, and integrate in the *foci* of power in order to influence shaping policy relevant to their domains.

The structured interviews with factors mentioned support the research hypotheses and its findings. The interviewees were aware of the need to for gradual change and believe that the process of change in the social perception is so inflexible that it cannot be dramatic, but gradual. All note that the change must be behavioral. Without creating support and cooperation of the policy-makers in public administration, the desired change in the perception of the subject cannot be generated. They see the advisors as a mechanism that will promote the change and locate the advancement of the status of women on the public agenda. They maintain that every society enjoys a constant process of negotiation when determining the objectives of public policy. The bargaining stems from the assumption that resources are limited, on which basis society defines for itself the objectives common to all. As people familiar with these rules of the game in the public-political system, the interviewees cited the existing law as a significant achievement from the perspectives of determining shared policy and of assimilating awareness of the unique needs for advancing women. Policy is a collection of controlled decisions, taken under conditions of uncertainty, in order to proceed towards given objectives. They view the law as a significant breakthrough regarding the continued handling of the subject by empowering the advisors in local authorities.

5.2 The mayoral advisor on the status of women – an analysis according to the “bottom up” approach

The research tools mainly examined the advisors' profile and organizational status at decision-making *foci*, the perception of the role and its assessment, as well as the factors important for creating change in the perception of the subject and the attitude towards it by decision-makers in the local Authority.

The discussion of the research findings will focus primarily on the connection between the status and performance of the advisors on the advancement of the status of women at decision-making *foci* in public

administration and bringing the subject to the political-public agenda, and allocating resources to further it. This is in order to prove the connection between the hierarchical status in the organization, professionalism and Authority and the ability to influence shaping policy on the given topic.

The main research objectives were:

1. To explore the principle of representing women at *foci* of power in public administration as a key to the reasonable promotion of the female interests when determining the order of social priorities and in dividing, economic resources;
2. To explore whether change occurred in the decision-makers' perception regarding the issue following the appointment of the advisors on the status of women and how the change is translated into practice;
- 3 To identify the connection between the advisors' status, their skills and their performance and ability to influence shaping policy on the subject and work towards allocating resources for its advancement.

This discussion will summarize the main research findings, will discuss the conclusions arising from these results and assess the degree of generalization of the conclusions.

5.2.1 The advisors' profile – a summary of the findings and conclusions

About 90% of the research population have been advisors for 2-3½ years and are, in fact, amongst the first to be appointed to the position following the passage of the Law in 2000. Most of them have participated in a training course under the auspices of the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office and in an academic institution. More than 70% of the advisors have a first or second academic degree and 58% receive budgets for their activities. 85% are experienced employees in the authority and fulfill additional positions, but do not receive a salary for the new, additional appointment.

The discussion of the findings will examine the extent of the change reported by the advisors during their years of activity. Do the status, role and educational differences between them affect their perception of the position and their achievements? How well do they function within the limitations of their dual position? The study will similarly also explore the differences in the perception of the role between those whose activities are, and are not, budgeted according to status and degree of authority and the connection to decision-makers.

The description of the research variables that rank the importance of the factors associated with the success in the role indicates that the advisors ranked budgetary allocation high, as the factor most important for their success, followed by the advisors' status in the organizational hierarchy.

The literature review expounds on the budget as a political document, the result of political power struggles that reflect the strength of all the factors party to the process. It is, in fact, a manifestation of the practical policy. The findings also prove, and are also presented in the discussion below, that the practical manifestation of the advisors' influence on the decision-making processes and on their involvement in determining the order of priorities, is manifested in allocating resources for handling the topic. A significant connection exists, as will be shown later, between the status of the organizational advisors and their ability to influence the decision-makers and the political process of financing in the local authority.

It would appear that the budget is a central factor that can advance the implementation of the politics on a particular topic and apply them in practice. The advisors, operating in the authority framework, familiar with the rules of the political game, note this factor as most significant for their success.

To study the perception of the research population of their position as advisors on the advancement of the status of women, the participants were asked to rank 11 statements relevant to their position. Five statements were generally ranked high:

1. Increasing awareness of the subject of the status of women (M=6.46)
2. Disseminating information on the rights of women (M=6.47)
3. Raising the subject to the public agenda (M=6.22)
4. Impact on the attitude of policy makers regarding the topic (M=6.02)
5. Activity on the subject of budgetary allocations (M=5.90)

The findings will prove that the areas of prominent activity amongst the advisors are consistent. They include the limitations of the scope of the position, due to the dual role of most advisors, and the need to break through the barriers of public prominence due to the obstacles existing in the cultural-social perception of the organization as described in the literature review. The advisors are thus led to focus on the core of handling the subject, i.e., in increasing awareness of the issue.

In order to create significant change in the perception and attitude of stakeholders in the organization, it is necessary to primarily operate to raise the subject to the public agenda. This should have an impact on the organizations' decisions and policy and influence the budgetary allocations. Statements associated with running programs and practical projects to advance the subject generally seem to be ranked relatively low for this reason.

Exploration of the topics that the advisors managed to advance since their appointment indicate that in most cases they ranked their success at a medium to high level. This still testifies to the lack of ability and possibility of functioning at maximum efficiency in all domains associated with their advisory role, due to the limitations of their double position and a lack of resources, and due to the deep-rooted culture of gender inequality.

Domains in which a higher level of success were noted are:

- Raising public awareness (M=5.25)
- Identifying needs regarding the advancement of the status of women (M=5.27)

It is interesting to explore the areas that were ranked relatively low:

- Increasing budgets (M=3.91)
- Increasing female representation in senior positions (M=3.77)
- Developing professional support networks for women (M=3.83)
- Creating a reserve of potential women for senior positions (M=3.38)

It would seem that increasing budgets was ranked as enjoying relatively low success. There is a connection between it and the items connected to the integration of women at senior positions and at *foci* of impact.

A disparity exists, as will be presented below, between the declarations of intentions and support of the issue of the advancement of women at the public-declaratory level, and practical decision-making on subjects such as budgets or including women at the *foci* of power. It is easier to advance programs for preventing violence in the family or other instructional activities for women than to integrate in the political negotiations of the decision-makers who determine the organizational order of priorities and its policy.

Exploration of the connection between the advisors' profile (according to the variables of education and status in the authority) and the impact on decision-makers (according to variables of budget, raising the subject to the public agenda and increasing awareness) shows significant differences between the advisors according to their status. In other words, 100% of the advisors holding senior professional positions reported a very high level of importance regarding budgetary allocations for their activities, which are received by about 86% of them. Some 84% of the senior advisors ranked the importance of raising the subject to the public awareness and 92% ranked high the locating the needs for advancing women.

Analysis of the advisors' profile for these selected items would seem to indicate that prominent differences are to be found in their success in budgeting activities in the above-mentioned areas. The proportion of those ranking those items higher was far greater amongst those holding the most senior and professional positions in the authority, who managed to recruit budgets, than amongst the advisors of a junior advisory position. 100% of the advisors who ranked low the issue of increasing public awareness in this domain are junior in the authority, lacking the clout to sway the *foci* of power. Their ability to raise the subject to the awareness of the decision-makers is thus lower. This is manifested in their diminished ability to generate change with respect to the issue by the organizational and political environment and also to express it in the allocation of financial resources for the topic.

In order to study the advisors' assessment of their personal performance, they were asked to assess it according to 30 statements. In most cases their assessment was medium or higher, particularly with respect to

- Compatibility of the position to their abilities: M=5.98
- Assessing their training for the position: M=5.57
- Familiarity with the decision-making processes in the Authority: M=5.64

In most cases, the more senior advisors in the authority and in senior administrative positions appear to perceive their position as suitable to their abilities, and recognize the organizational structure and its political dynamics. These advisors even ranked relatively high their assessment of the position (M=5.28) and their satisfaction with it (M=5.28). They note the existence of an open and structured channel of communications between them and the head of the authority (M=5.48), a high level of cooperation, the positive connection with key figures there and a relatively high level of cooperation with decision-makers (M=5.13). At

the same time, it would seem that a significant disparity still exists between the declarative and actual implementation levels despite the support, cooperation and positive connection noted with key figures in the authority.

The statement regarding the degree of success in raising the issues to the public agenda in council meetings was ranked low ($M=3.89$), as were the degree of change in the number of women advanced to senior positions ($M=3.49$) and statements regarding the participation of decision-makers in defining the objectives and in their realization ($M=3.96$).

A particularly low rank was afforded the statement regarding the advisors' involvement in the authority discussions ($M=3.18$). This indicates the continuing difficulty in integrating the female advisors at political decision-making *foci* in the organization. Despite the relatively positive connection and their senior professional status, there is still a barrier to their entry to *foci* of influence, as a result of which the topics associated with allocating resources and advancing women to senior positions remained ranked relatively low.

The findings indicate that despite these assessments, significant change occurred in cooperation between the diverse factors involved in the advancement of women prior to, and following, the appointment of an advisor ($M=2.72$ compared to $M=5.09$).

In other words, the appointment of an advisor on the status of women appears to be a possible mechanism for motivating the significant process of change in the perception of the issue in public administration. Nevertheless, despite the clear tendency towards change, most of the averages still appear medium. Despite the three-year time span for conducting the study progress is still slow and gradual, notwithstanding the support and encouragement in the organizational environment.

Here, too, differences are noted between the advisors' profile variables, the level of their reporting and the items in the questionnaire associated with the change in perception, in awareness and in taking decisions in this regard. These were significant regarding nine items pertinent to budgeting their activities for the advancement of the status of women.

The fact that 100% of the advisors, who ranked high their support amongst decision-makers for the topic, receive financing for their activities is notable.

100% of the advisors who ranked low their ability to influence the decision-makers received no budgetary allocations.

The findings further indicate that the higher the advisors rank the importance of the close connection with the head of the authority, the greater the cooperation between the organizational factors for advancing the topic. Moreover, the more the subject is raised in council sessions, the greater the involvement of decision-makers in achieving the objectives and the more broader the authority under their jurisdiction wherein, the more the advisors manage to obtain financing for their activities.

These findings substantiate the research hypotheses, indicating the connection between the advisors' success in obtaining resources for advancing the subject and their location at *foci* of power in the local Authority.

The senior advisors, who are assessed by the authority head and key figures in the political and professional environment, manage to create the change in attitude towards the issue amongst decision-makers. The financing appears as an expression of the power and the influence of the advisors on *foci* of decision-making.

At the same time, one may conclude from the findings that the level of support by the senior role holders is usually perceived as average and above. The most supportive factor is the head of the department for social services ($M=5.29$), reflecting the common perception that the topics associated with dealing with the status of women, such as family violence, single-parent families, female employment and other social-community issues, are in the domain of welfare. The Mayor's support is also clear ($M=5.04$) since the advisory position is a personal, mayoral appointment, who chooses someone on whom he/she can rely, hence the relationships with her are usually good.

The support of the council members seems low ($M=4.47$). As already seen, the political appointees manifest support and encouragement for the subject mainly at the symbolic policy level, i.e., in statements of intentions. This also explains the lower level of support by the finance department ($M=3.96$).

The findings further illustrate the level of decision-makers' initiative in the local authority regarding the advancement of the status of women. The results indicate this as being medium-low.

The relatively high level pertained to raising awareness, information and communications (M=4.27) but a significant disparity still exists regarding applying policy *de facto*, i.e., in allocating resources (M=3.32) and in additional personnel (M=2.21). Despite the change occurring in perception, recognition of the need to allocate unique resources to the topic is rather low, testifying to the order of priorities in organizational policy.

The differences in the advisors' profile were also explored with respect to these findings. The variation in the decision-makers' support and initiative for the advancement of women according to their seniority is significant. The more senior the position, the greater the support of the key figures in the local authority – they manage to increase awareness of the subject and to influence the decision-makers to support the issue and to allocate resources for its promotion.

5.3 Summary of the findings and the conclusions regarding the research variables

The findings regarding the linear correlation tests for the various variables clearly support the research hypotheses regarding the connection between the advisors' perception of their position, assessment of their performance and success in advancing issues and the support of decision-makers for the advancement of the status of women. Significant positive correlations were found between the diverse research indices.

- The higher the advisors' perception of their position, their recognition of domains of activity and positive assessment of their position, the greater their success in performing their role and the greater their support by decision-makers in the authority
- Particularly high correlations were found between the levels of self-assessment by the advisors and the levels of support by decision-makers. The higher the level of self-assessment, the greater the support by decision-makers and the greater the initiative by key figures in the authority. These contribute much to the advisors' successful performance of their tasks in the framework of their position.

There is no question of doubt that these high correlations support the hypothesis that the status of the advisors, their self-assessment and degree of ability to integrate and influence the *foci* of power and central decision-makers in the organization create support and approval for the subject. Cooperation with them is the key for motivating the process of change in the perception and attitude of decision-makers regarding the

status of women. Consequently, initiatives and achievements are enjoyed, and the subject is included in the political-public agenda.

The variance tests conducted for the average research indices indicate a significant difference between the advisors regarding the index of success in advancing the subject under their jurisdiction. Advisors who reached their role from a senior position in the organizational hierarchy reported a higher level of success ($M=4.76$) compared to advisors who reached it from a junior position ($M=3.67$). This finding also supports the hypothesis that senior professional status affords a parameter significant for the advisors' success in their role, and their ability to influence and create change in the perception and attitude to the subject in the organizational environment.

Furthermore, these advisors report the receipt of financial support for their activities and considerable success for all the indices compared to advisors who received no financial support. The t-test indicates significant differences in the level of success in the role between advisors who do and those who do not receive budgetary funding.

Similarly, significant differences were found in the questionnaire that explored the assessment of the advisors' personal performance relative to the allocation of resources. The differences are particularly notable for the parameters connected to self-assessment of the role. Advisors who receive financing mainly emphasized the compatibility of the role with their abilities, i.e., assess particularly positively their abilities and compatibility to the role ($M=5.50$ compared with $M=6.32$). They report an open channel of communications with the Mayor ($M=4.45$ compared to $M=6.21$) and support for the topic by decision-makers ($M=5.00$ compared to $M=3.80$). There is also a marked difference in the range of authority for advancing the subject under their jurisdiction ($M=5.28$ compared to $M=3.29$) and familiarity with the organizational decision-making processes ($M=5.04$ compared to $M=3.53$).

The connection between attitude, authority and professional level and the ability to integrate at *foci* of influence and lead a process of support for the topic at the decision-making level, as well as regarding budgetary allocations, is clear. Advisors who do not receive budgets afford a rather low rank to their presence and involvement in council sessions, and report a relatively low level of change in the manner of dealing with the subject since their appointment to the position ($M=3.77$). This supports the hypotheses that junior advisors, with a weak or less well-established professional status, are distanced from the *foci* of power in the

organization, their ability to wield influence is low and their ability to generate significant change in the perception of the subject amongst decision-makers is even poorer. This is even manifested in the inability to influence the allocation of budgets for the benefit of the topic, evident in the findings.

The significant differences can mainly be seen in the attitude of decision-makers to the topic ($M=5.19$ compared to $M=3.93$) and in the initiatives of decision-makers to advance the subject ($M=4.24$ compared to $M=2.88$). In other words, a significant connection exists between the attitudes of the decision-makers, the budget and the attitudes/power of the organizational advisors.

In order to establish these hypotheses, the differences between the advisors were explored according to their levels of education. These were also found to explain the differences in assessing the role and its perception. A higher level of education and more established professional status are indices for the advisors' success in their role and in their personal assessment of their achievements.

Throughout the study, the active involvement of every advisor in council discussions and the clear involvement of decision-makers in achieving the objectives are ranked medium-low in all cases. In other words, the block in perception still exists despite the desire for openness and support of the issue.

In general, advisors who receive financing for their activities report greater support by key figures in the local authority, with very significant differences in the levels of support, such as that from the Mayor ($M=5.88$ compared to $M=3.95$), from council members ($M=4.92$ compared to $M=3.84$) and from the finance department ($M=4.81$ compared to $M=2.80$). They further report greater initiative in all domains by the decision-makers.

A comparison of attitudes and cooperation on the advancement of the status of women prior to, and following, the appointment of a advisor clearly indicates a positive change in the level of cooperation between the diverse factors in the authority in favor of advancing the subject following the advisory appointment ($M=5.07$ compared to $M=2.69$). This finding supports the hypothesis that cooperation in the organizational environment and at *foci* of influence in the authority regarding the status of women will increase following the appointment of an advisor.

Scrutiny of the main findings regarding the key aspects of the role of the advisors again indicates the significant connection between the degree of their success in fulfilling the role in areas of increasing awareness of the subject and recruiting resources, self-assessment and the degree of support and help by the role holders and decision-makers in the authority.

The higher the level of reporting, the greater the level of success in recruiting support and financing, particularly from the head of the authority and the appointed council members. This is also true of the connection between the three indices of advisors' assessment of their personal performance and receiving support and help from the decision-makers. The greater the ability reported by the advisors in realizing cooperation, the higher the perception of the issues encompassed by the role, and the greater the support, help, cooperation, initiative and budgets reported.

Analysis of the level of the advisors' activities indicates that most of them are of a medium-low level due to implementation difficulties resultant from the language of the law. However, factors associated with the advisors themselves also exist and clarify the differences in their activities. The study further testifies to the lack of understanding or agreement regarding the systemic interest in advancing the status of women and their integration at the *foci* of power in public administration. This creates a narrow basis for operation that deals with the problems specific to women as individuals alone, rather than dealing with the social-systemic views.

There is no doubt that the advisors' adoption of a low level of activity due to the limitations and difficulties noted will generate a systemic problem in advancing and integrating women. It may well bring into question the legitimacy underlying the establishment of a mechanism for advancing and integrating women.

However, the research findings indicate clearly that the appointment of advisors on the status of women have the potential to influence shaping systemic policy for advancing the issue and allocating resources for generally dealing with it.

It is thus possible to conclude that the opportunity for integrating women at the *foci* of decision-making in public administration affords the potential for promoting the process of change in the attitudes of policy makers regarding the advancement of women in general, and the

mechanism of change in the order of priorities in the local Authority in particular.

Women holding a professionally well-established status, involved in the political dynamics in the organization and demonstrating a high level of awareness of the issue of the status of women have the ability to further it and raise it higher on the public-political agenda. They develop a political mode of action on the subject based on understanding the rules of the political organizational game.

This confirms the research conclusions regarding the representation of women at *foci* of power in public administration as the key to correctly advancing the subject of the status of women in the social order of priorities and in distributing economic resources for the topic. It is also a mechanism for encouraging the processes of change in the perception of the topic at the level of shaping policy and in attitudes to the subject by decision-makers and the organizational environment.

5.4 Summary of the discussion

Public policy is basically a political process. The political dynamics is the power motivating public policy. In view of the stiff competition between the alternatives, the process of shaping the public agenda becomes a key issue. The list of topics with which policy makers cope varies daily according to environmental constraints and changes in the public preferences. The bureaucratic mechanism affects public policy by determining the rules of activity, of consultancy, raising new initiatives, enforcing laws and implementing plans and thereby impacting on routine activity.

In fact, the bureaucratic mechanism has become an independent power base with its own interests in determining the public agenda.

The review of the literature presents the local authority as a bureaucratic organization with an organized professional hierarchical structure and a political mechanism, i.e, the publicly elected members, as well as with the processes of determining policy and making decisions in public administration. The theoretical background supports the research hypotheses and their findings.

The appointment of mayoral advisors on the advancement of the status of women is examined following the increasing recognition of the ability of women to influence determination of public policy, and on the

background of the conditions for greater awareness of equality in society. It is based on the Local Authorities Law (2002) as a possible mechanism for promoting the process of significant change in the perception of the subject at the *foci* of decision-making in public administration.

The findings support the research hypotheses. The starting point for the study was an examination of the principle of the representation of women at *foci* of power and their influence in public administration as a key to the reasonable advancement of female interests in determining the order of social priorities and in distributing the economic resources.

The study aimed to lay the foundations to explore policy on advancing and integrating women at *foci* of power and decision-making in public administration and to work towards increasing political-public awareness of the subject while affecting shaping and advancing policy.

The literature review presents various approaches to examining the process of determining policy. Policy makers operate within a given organization, and their decisions are affected by the routine organizational behavior. According to the political approach, public policy is the result of a competitive game in the organization between the various groups that participate in the process, for which the rules of the game must be recognized. The *foci* of power and strengths, the channels of influence and the decision-making process must be identified and located.

The advisors' function in an organizational environment typified by elements of the political approach. The findings prove the significant connection between the status of the organizational advisors, their familiarity and connection with the organizational politics, the decision-makers and shaping policy and its impact on the order of priorities in the social agenda.

One of the key manifestations of power and strength, as presented in the literature review, is the financing process in which the important decisions regarding public policy, with respect to economics and society, are taken. This process takes place between key members of the organization who try to leave their mark and their political impact on the budgetary document.

The study aimed to explore the connection between the status of the advisor in the local authority, the functioning and relationships with the decision-makers in the organization and raising the issue of the

advancement of the status of women to the public agenda, and allocating resources for its promotion. The findings clearly indicate that the budget, more than anything else, reflects the perception of the subject amongst policy makers and is an important key to successful policy implementation.

The status of the advisor in the organizational hierarchy and allocating money for advancing the subject were prominent in the findings as the most significant variables for the advisors' success in their position. The research hypotheses were confirmed in the findings as they arose from the questionnaires and the interviews. The reasons for the disparity between the policy that was set and its implementation by the local authority were verified. The legislator created ambiguity in the legal stipulations regarding the definition of the authorities afforded them and allocation of resources to the advisors, while ignoring the cost of enforcing the policy according to the law.

It would thus seem that the process of determining and implementing policy is not only a legal, legislative process, but also a behavioral process that expresses needs, perceptions and attitudes of those who are supposed to shape policy and those supposed to implement policy.

5.5 Recommendations

The disparity between policy and implementation is similar to the difference between the point of view of a person standing at the top of a mountain and one standing at its foot. From the top, the general view is seen, while from below it is necessary to deal with all the details. In many cases, implementation is the continuation of the process of determining policy. It demands consideration of the details that were not finally processed when policy was determined. Implementation demands learning anew, a different form of assessment of things that were not considered in advance, translating the general view into specific components.

The implementation stage includes a long list of decisions in each of which appear all the stages of determining policy. The implementation stage also includes reassessing the policy and feedback that enable updating policy while operating. Policy is a framework for taking more detailed decisions. It also affords directives for those conducting the implementation without whom there is no policy. This framework is nothing but a declarative value. One may thus observe that without

change in policy towards honing the objectives, it is difficult to implement meaningful change.

In order to assess the results of the process of implementing change following passage of the law, considerable significance is afforded to the institutional reaction to the policy proposal. The organization, in this case the local authority, fulfills a most important role in determining public policy and its substance. It has the power to determine the degree of flexibility or opposition to the initiative.

The large public systems tend to adhere to arrangements and relationships with which they are familiar and every change seems to threaten the organizational values. There is no doubt that political leaders have a central role in determining public policy, in advancing change therein or in causing the initiatives to fail. They have marked ability to influence the substance and timing of the initiatives and their management. The political leadership is likely to take an active part in shaping the change and adopt suitable strategies for its advancement.

Many researchers stress that the chance for successful change depends no less on the strategy adopted by those implementing change. This study presents the appointment of mayoral advisors on the status of women as a mechanism for motivating change in the perception of the subject and its handling at *foci* of decision-making in public administration.

The conclusions from the research findings indicate that in order to increase the ability of women to influence the *foci* of power and take decisions in the organization, they, as the agents of change, must recognize and understand the political and economic environment in which the policy changes are introduced. The organizational hierarchy is far more than a description of the division of labor and responsibility in the organization. It also reflects the status and prestige, the power and autonomy, challenge and opportunity for self-expression, economic rewards, personal benefit and so on.

The review of the literature indicates that women usually work in organizations whose valid rules of the game were planned by males and are under their control. They determine the order of priorities when allocating resources. Thus prior to finalizing the applicable strategy, it is important for the advisors to understand the means at their disposal and the factors that are likely to affect advancing the subject in order to alter the existing situation. Shaping strategy should be done according to the conditions typical of the policy in each local authority. It should be

basically political, relating to methods of improving the chances of acceptance from the political and bureaucratic perspective.

Each of the advisors' plans for advancing the issue and for altering attitudes towards it demands not only declaratory support by the decision-makers, but also strong commitment by them to advancing initiatives and for active involvement in the subject.

The study proves that the support of the decision-makers of the initiatives to advance the status of women can also influence the external environment, and mainly the success in applying the plan by allocating financial resources. It is thus essential to harness male commitment to the topic.

There is no doubt that the most significant impact is dependent on the Mayor's readiness to support the issue, as the person with most influence on determining the agenda of the local policy.

The main applicable recommendation stemming from this study is directed towards the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office, responsible for the activities of the advisors on the advancement of the status of women in the local authorities and their training for the position.

The theoretical section of this thesis indicates that organizational politics in public administration create obstacles that prevent women advancing along the axis leading to the center of the circle and to *foci* of power and influence in organizations.

The study maintains that there is no question but that the ability for political maneuvering and basing professional status in the organization fulfill a central role in advancing the advisors' objectives and interests. The organizations recognize professional authority and organizational assets, such as status in the organizational hierarchy, connections and agreements and the importance of the accessibility to sources of information and power in the organization.

Due to the ambiguous approach in the law to the status and authority of advisors in local authorities, it is strongly recommended that the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women relates to these findings when accompanying and training the advisors.

The recommendations pertain to several key aspects.

1. Improving the methods of decision-making by senior policy makers in the authority

Since this is a new law and function in the local authority, a training process begun by the authority to advance the status of women should focus mainly on analyzing the perception of the position. It should also consider finalizing orientation directed at the perception of the subject amongst the new advisors, while coping with their personal perception of the status of women.

The findings clearly indicate the lack of uniformity in the perception of the role amongst advisors. The variance is explained by factors associated with advisors' profile, status, education, profession and so on. It further transpires from the study that many advisors do not manage to integrate at the *foci* of decision-making and are not familiar with the rules of the political game in the organization. This affects their success in advancing the subject.

The training process should focus on learning the political processes of the organizational policy-makers. In order to encourage decision-makers to recognize and accept the advisors' initiatives they should adopt the radical-selective approach that supports introducing gradual change over a lengthy period of time and constantly explores the implications of the change at each stage. The focus is then on a relatively small number of particularly important components in the general system and their improvement in a comprehensive and far-reaching manner.

The study clearly indicates the importance of the factors associated with raising awareness of the subject to the decision-makers' agenda and allocating resources for its advance. These are key subjects that should totally focus on the advisors' activities in order to result in a process of significant change over time when referring to them. These are key factors for the requested change on the issue of the status of women.

To this end, it is important to enhance consistency in implementing policy by the advisors as detailed below.

- An instructional and informational mechanism should be applied that will assure the regular flow of concise, systematic and comprehensive information to policy-makers in the Authority regarding the condition of women in general, while stressing the needs and problems in the local authority in particular.
- A format should be developed for information that will reach the policy makers, emphasizing the overall long-term view, dealing also with renewing alternatives that include a SWOT

- analysis, and a re-examination of the assumptions that appear self-understood, in order to help policy makers understand the issue and the aspects involved. It further involves constructing an order of priorities and a list of subjects to which they will devote their time and budget for their promotion
- A target plan should be determined for the advisors' activity strategy, with a weighted order of priorities for the medium time range, based on consistent analysis of the various objectives
- A reliable estimate of the expected cost-benefit for the various activity alternatives for the medium time frame should be prepared, and accordingly, rational allocation of funds to realize them
- An output index and output estimate should be determined based on clear criteria with ongoing feedback based on systematic tracking of the activities

For the decisions to become action, both decision-makers and those implementing them should understand the significance of the change in behavior and perception demanded of them.

These recommendations will help to prepare the advisors. They will provide the tools for understanding the processes of determining policy in the authority, and for their ability to influence the types of decision-making by the senior policy makers, through sharing information, activity alternatives and orders of priority.

2. Recommendations regarding the advisors' status and performance

The literature review shows that females, like males, are not a homogeneous group. When defining special roles for women, even at the professional and administrative levels, and providing them with areas of responsibility that are stereotypically female, dilemmas are created as observed in the research findings.

The advisors are aware of the role of the encapsulating process that can reduce effectiveness and limit their organizational mobility. They must therefore balance the time spent on dealing with female issues and their use as a symbol or model for advancing the status of women, with the attention that they must invest in the professional aspects of their role.

Women who felt greater commitment and were more active in advancing issues associated with the status of women, were also more experienced, more senior, and with broader professional ability. Advisors arriving at their position with a record of proven professional activity in other fields find it easier to deal with issues associated with women.

The findings in the research literature also prove the desire of women to establish their professional status in the organization in general, and their status at the *foci* of power and decision-making in particular, prior to raising female issues.

This study proves that the appointment of advisors from a proven senior professional background in the organization creates a clear system of connections and support networks in the organizational environment. This has a proven impact on their ability to influence the process of determining policy in the authority.

This researcher recommends working towards adding clear instructions to the law regarding the status and abilities of the appointed advisor. Position in the organizational hierarchy is a significant variable regarding the ability to create a process of change in the perception of the issue and its promotion, since this is the source of power that affords legitimate authority and power to influence the *foci* of power in the local authority. Power is the ability to instigate things, i.e., to recruit resources, to raise the issue to the public and political agenda, and to act according to the mainstreaming principle, to integrate the female aspect in all areas of political and public life.

3. Recommendations regarding the advisors' performance as linked to models proposed for the advisors' training process

Currently, after the preliminary training process mentioned above, each advisor operates as she sees fit. It is recommended introducing a formal method for planning the activities for all the advisors, wherein the method will be uniform and fixed to a large extent, based on these research findings. It will, however, be flexible in its details to enable its adaptation to the attributes of each local authority. An outline work plan for the various time frames (short- and medium-term and a 5-year plan) should be introduced that includes a series of defined objectives. Similarly, a close tracking method should be initiated whose inventors will also help to implement change.

There is no doubt that the law regarding the appointment of advisors on the advancement of the status of women affords a significant breakthrough to furthering this topic despite its limitations, but the need for proof falls on the advisors. They are responsible for utilizing their appointment as a lever for changing their perceptions of the decision-makers and those shaping policy in the local authority. Thus they must receive help, as recommended in this study, and enjoy a suitable training program through the authority on

the topic in order to maneuver in the thicket of the political interests to achieve their objectives.

Since the appointment is forced on the head of the local authority, this researcher recommends holding orientation sessions in coordination with the IULA for the head of authorities and public appointees regarding the appointment of advisors. Until now, apart from the fact that the law was brought to the attention of the authorities and forced them to make the appointment, no informational procedure or instructions or involvement of the central authority has been implemented pertaining to events there from the moment of the appointment.

The lack of involvement and interest in the subject testify to the tendency towards symbolic policy, a lack of interest in being significantly involved in implementing policy, and to what is required at the declarative level only.

To this end, it is strongly recommended that the Authority on the Advancement of the Status of Women, together with the ULAI, arrange meetings with key figures in the authority as soon as possible, starting from the Mayor, his deputies and council members. The objective would be to coordinate a set of expectations, awareness, initiatives and cooperation on the advancement of the status of women, and to encourage their commitment to implementing policy while emphasizing the importance of the variables presented in the study.

The study proves that the involvement of decision-makers influences the attitude towards the subject and the possibilities of its promotion. It is most important to plan such a step to alleviate the progress of women to the *foci* of power and influence, as in cases observed in this study.

5.6.1 Research recommendations and further directions of study

This research study aims to lay the foundations to explore policy on advancing and integrating women at *foci* of power and decision-making in public administration as a key to furthering the female interests determining the social-public agenda through the appointment of a mayoral advisor on the status of women.

It focuses mainly on their ability to lead a process of change in the attitudes of decision-makers towards the subject, as manifested in its being raised to the public agenda and in allocating resources to its promotion.

The findings rely on the reports of a group of advisors in senior positions, who have participated in a training process to fulfill their role, under the auspices of the Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office. They similarly relate to the period following the appointment.

Furthermore,

1. It is important to conduct longitudinal research on the subject that will include consideration of the additional parameters not discussed here, in order to afford full understanding of the process of change for each of the possible components (such as norms, attitudes and the advisors' perceptions of the research topic).
2. A study could focus on a description of the attitude towards the subject and its handling before and after the appointment of an advisor. Objective, and not only perceptual, parameters for measuring should be defined with the focus also on additional perspectives rather than only on that of the advisors and key figures such as male and female residents, professionals, the media and so on.
3. This study does not answer all the questions it raises. One of the directions recommended for further research appears here in the appendix. It brings to the fore the question of differentiating between the advisors' role and their success in the different types of Authority – city, regional Authority and local Authority. Another direction of research is the character of the Authority – a secular Authority, a religious Authority, Jewish or Arab.

This is the first study of its kind in Israel. Until now, the ability of advisors to influence and be involved in Israeli local authorities has not been studied. Four years after the law was passed, the Authority on the Advancement of the Status of Women still focused on its enforcement and there are still authorities that have not appointed an advisor as determined by the law. The importance of this study is in its very primacy and its practical recommendations for involvement in improving the types of decisions taken by policy makers in the local authorities. As a pilot study in its field the researcher hopes to have opened the gates to fruitful methods of research on the subject. She proposes several hypotheses and directions for further research in the future, and feels she makes some contribution to research on the subject.

*Researcher's note:

The Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women in the Prime Minister's Office assisted the writer in the research process due to its very primacy. The recommendations were recently submitted to the Chairperson of the Authority in that office, to the Union of Local Authorities in Israel, to the Research Institute of the Women's Lobby in Israel and to the Chairperson of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Israeli *Knesset* for perusal and application. Steps are currently being taken to consolidate a national steering committee to explore and apply them, and the subject will be led by this writer at the academic and the public levels.

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Appendix no. 1

Local Authorities Law (Advisors on the Status of Women) 2000

1. Definitions

In this Law

Advisor on the Status of Women – whosoever is appointed according to this law as advisor on the status of women

Women's Council – A council representing those who work to advance the status of women in the local authority

Local Authority – Municipality or local authority

The Minister – Minister of the Interior

2. Appointment of an advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women

- a. The local authority shall appoint an advisor on the status of women who will be an employee of the local authority at one of four highest ranks in the ranking to which she belongs and is customary in that authority.
- b. In accordance with the instructions of sections a and d, fulfilling the position of advisor on the status of women may be in addition to another position that she fulfills in the authority, as long as the latter does not interfere with fulfilling the position as advisor on the status of women; the instructions of this paragraph do not prevent the local authority from employing an advisor on the status of women for this position alone, as long as her employment is financed in the budgetary framework approved by the local authority.
- c. Should the Minister realize that the local authority does not appoint an advisor on the status of women, he may demand by order to appoint an advisor within the period of time cited in the order; should the local authority not fulfill the order within the set period of time, the Minister shall be entitled to appoint such an advisor instead.
- d. The instructions pertaining to employees of that local authority are also applicable to the appointment and position of the advisor on the status of women in the local authority.

3. Conditions of competence

Whoever has an academic background or professional or practical experience of at least two years in areas pertinent to the status of women shall be competent to be the advisor on the status of women.

4. Subordination, authority and reporting

- a. The advisor shall be directly subordinate to the head of the local authority when fulfilling her position as advisor on matters pertaining to the status of women.
- b. If there should be a Women's Council in the local authority the advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall maintain contact between the Women's Council, the local authority and the head of the authority.
- c. The advisor on matters pertaining to the status of women will work together with the head of the local authority to plan policy on the advancement of the status of women within the authority, its implementation and allocating resources to this end; should a Women's Council function in the local authority, the advisor on the status of women will work together with the Women's Council.
- d. The advisor on the status of women will report annually to the *Knesset* Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women, to the National Authority for the Advancement of the Status of Women and the local authority in which she works on her activities, policy she applies and the resources at her disposal.

5. Obligation to be invited to meetings

- a. The advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall be invited to every session of the local authority council and to each of the committees.
- b. Should the advisor on the status of women attend the meeting she shall be given the opportunity to state her opinion before any decision pertinent to issues on the status of women is taken.

6. Removing the advisor from her position

The advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women shall not be removed from her position unless according to the decision of the local authority council, after all members of the council have been informed according to law and after all members of the council have been informed that this step will be discussed in that meeting.

7. Implementation order

Within five months of the application of this law, the local authority shall appoint an advisor on issues pertaining to the status of women according to the instructions of this law; if the local authority has not appointed an advisor on the status of women as stipulated, the instructions of section 2(c) shall be applied.

8. Implementation and regulations

The Minister of the Interior is responsible for implementing this law and for introducing regulations in everything pertaining to its implementation.

Ehud Barak
Prime Minister

Haim Ramon
pp/Minister of the Interior

Moshe Katzav
President of the State of Israel

Avraham Burg
Speaker of the Knesset

Appendix no. 2

The research questionnaire

Dear Advisor,

In the framework of academic research currently underway, and intended to advance and explore the events that occurred following the appointment of advisors to the heads of authorities on the status of women, I would like to request your help in completing the attached questionnaire.

Please note your personal opinion only. The information gathered is for academic research alone. Analysis of the questionnaire will be performed using statistical tools, regardless of the identity of those completing them. Similarly, no use will be made of the information collected that is liable to cause personal harm.

The questionnaire is lengthy and comprehensive, so please read it carefully and answer all the questions. An incomplete questionnaire will damage the ability to draw statistical conclusions. The term mayoral advisor is used here to define the position of advisor on the status of women to mayors and the heads of local and regional authorities.

Thank you for your contribution to this study and for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Orna Mager

052-605604

Please complete the details below if you are interested in receiving the results of the study after its completion.

Name _____
Address _____
Phone no. _____

Background details

1. Name of authority_____
2. Type of authority_____
 1. City
 2. Local council
 3. Regional council
 4. Other_____
3. Geographic location of authority
 1. Central Israel
 2. Periphery
4. Head of the authority is
 1. Male
 2. Female
5. Your age_____
6. Education
 1. High school
 2. Post high school
 3. B.A.
 4. M.A. or higher
7. Family situation
 1. Bachelor
 2. Married
 3. Other
8. Profession_____
9. For how many years have you been the mayoral advisor?_____
10. Prior to your appointment as an advisor did you hold another position in the local authority?
 1. No
 2. Yes. Detail
11. For how many years did you hold this position?_____

12. Do you now hold a different position in addition to being the mayoral advisor on the status of women?
- 1. No.
 - 2. Yes. Detail _____
13. What is the scope of your position as mayoral advisor?
- 1. Part-time position
 - 2. Full time position
14. What is your professional category and rank? _____
15. Do you receive an additional salary for your position as advisor (beyond your salary for your other position in the authority)?
- 1. No
 - 2. Yes
16. Does the authority have a separate budget to finance your activities on the status of women?
- 1. No
 - 2. Yes
17. If there is no budget, what are the sources of financing for the activities?
- _____
- _____
- _____
18. Before you are four factors associated with success in your position as mayoral advisor on the status of women, Based on your experience, rank the four factors according to their degree of importance on a scale from 1-4. 1 designates the most important factor and 4 the factor you consider least important.

Secondary questionnaire A (4 items)

Item no.	Factors	Rank
1	Status of mayoral advisor in the organizational hierarchy	
2	Range of mayoral advisor’s authority	
3	Budgets to further the issue	
4	Cooperation from key figures in the authority	

In the following questions, please rank your perception of your position as advisor to the head of the local authority on the status of women on a scale of 1-7. 1 designates 'Not at all', while 7 designates 'considerably'.

Secondary questionnaire B (11 items)

		Ranking perceptions of the position						
Item no.	Issue	To some degree		To a moderate degree			Considerably	
1	Dealing with the authority's female employees	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Dealing with city's female residents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Increasing awareness of the status of women issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Disseminating information on women's rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Assuring arrangements to afford equal opportunities for women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Activities regarding allocating resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Developing plans for advancing women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	Advancing women to senior/key positions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	Influencing the attitudes of policy makers on the subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	Coordinating instruction and events associated with the subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	Placing the issue on the public agenda	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The following is a list of subjects under the advisor's jurisdiction. Please rank the degree to which you think you have managed to advance each of the issues since your appointment as mayoral advisor on the status of women. Rank your opinion on a scale of 1-7, wherein 1 expresses a lack of success and 7 expresses great success.

Secondary questionnaire C (17 items)

Item no.	Issue	Ranking the success of advance							
		No success		Moderate success			Considerable success		
1	Allocating/increasing budgets	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2	Raising public awareness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3	Founding interest groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	Encouraging business initiatives and economic independence for women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5	Activities to encourage the employment of women and their integration in the work world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6	Preventing violence against women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7	Increasing female representation in senior positions in the local authorities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8	Making the decision-makers in the local authority aware of the issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9	The rights of female employees in the local authority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10	Developing professional support networks for women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11	Creating a bank of potential female employees for senior/political positions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12	Advancing female leadership	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13	Developing a multi-year program	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
14	Initiating instructional activities unique to the advancement of women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
15	Identifying needs pertaining to the advance of the status of women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
16	Taking steps to prevent discrimination against women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
17	Intervention to advance educational programs on gender equality in the education system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

In the following questions please evaluate your personal role as mayoral advisor on the status of women. Rank your attitudes on a scale of 1-7, with the rank of 1 expressing low evaluation and 7, high evaluation.

Secondary questionnaire D (30 items)

Item no.	Issue	Ranking level of functioning						
		To some degree		To a moderate degree			Considerably	
1	To what degree is your position compatible with your abilities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	How do you assess your functioning/achievements?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	How satisfied are you with your job?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	How do you assess the training you received for your job?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Are clear objectives mentioned in the definition of your position?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Are the demands of your job clear and understood by you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Does the double role limit the scope of your activities?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	Assess the degree of your cooperation with the decision-makers in your authority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	The degree of your success in bringing the subject to the agenda of the council meetings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	You attend council meetings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	You are an active participant in the council discussions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	You managed to focus attention on the interest group that did not benefit from this previously	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	There is an open and structured channel of communications between you and the head of the authority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	There is a change in the frequency of the involvement and the council's method of handling the issue since you took up your position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	You are familiar with the decision-making processes in the local authority in which you work	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16	There has been significant change in the number of women advanced to senior positions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	There has been significant change in the dissemination of messages pertaining to the status of women	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	There is coordination between the various organizations dealing with the subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	A connection exists between the appointment of the advisor and involvement with the subject of advancing women amongst decision-makers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	There is support/approval amongst decision-makers on the subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	There is support/approval within the organizational environment on the subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	How satisfied are you with the method of achieving the objectives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	How involved were decision-makers in defining the objectives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	How involved were decision-makers in achieving the objectives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	To what extent did decision-makers understand the importance of the issue/objectives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	To what extent did the perceptions of decision-makers of the subject change since you took up your position?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	To what extent was there cooperation between the various factors in the organization in favor of advancing the issue prior to your appointment?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	To what extent was there cooperation between the various factors in the organization in favor of advancing the subject after your appointment?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	Do you think you have sufficient authority to promote the subject?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	Assess your ability to influence decision-makers with regard to the subject under your jurisdiction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

In the following table, please rank whether in your opinion the attitude of decision-makers to the subject of the status of women changed following your appointment as mayoral advisor.

Secondary questionnaire E (7 items)

Item no.	Position	Ranking of level of support						
		Little support		Moderate support			Considerable support	
1	Head of the authority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Director General	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Council/authority members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Department and division head, as detailed below							
4	Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Human resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Social services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Finance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Other key figures in the authority, detailed below							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The following is a list of subjects pertaining to the status of women. Please rank the extent to which the decision-makers in the authority take the initiative to advance these issues.

Secondary questionnaire F (6 items)

Item no.	Issue	Ranking level of initiative						
		Lack of initiative		Moderate initiative			Considerable initiative	
1	Allocating/ increasing resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Additional manpower	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Initiating projects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Raising awareness of information and communications	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Support for decision-making	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Creating a lobby/support group and interest group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix no. 3

Additional tables

Table no. 31: Attributes of the local authorities (n=50)

		N	%
Type of local authority	City	28	56.0
	Local authority	6	12.0
	Regional authority	16	32.0
Geographical location	Central Israel	25	50.0
	Periphery	25	50.0
Head of authority is...	Male	48	96.0
	Female	2	4.0

*Only items in whose regard significant differences or marginal levels of significance were found are presented here.

Table no. 32: Advisors' demographic attributes

		N	%
Advisor's age (n=43)	40-	6	14.0
	41-50	23	53.5
	51+	14	32.6
Advisor's age (n=50)	High school	2	4.0
	Post high school	13	26.0
	Academic – B.A. degree	18	36.0
	Academic – M.A. and higher	17	34.0
Family status (n=49)	Unmarried	--	--
	Married	43	87.8
	Other	6	12.2

*Only role holders in whose regard significant differences or marginal levels of significance were found are presented here.

Table no. 33: Advisors' professional background

		N	%
How many years have you served as mayoral advisor (n=49)	2- years	6	12.2
	2-2.5 years	20	40.8
	3-5 years	19	38.8
	4+ years	4	8.2
Did you hold another position in the local authority prior to your appointment as advisor? (n=47)	No	7	14.9
	Yes	40	85.1
How long did you hold this position? (n=32)	5- years	12	37.5
	10-6 years	12	37.5
	11+ years	8	25.0
Do you now hold another position in addition to mayoral advisor on the status of women? (n=49)	No	9	18.4
	Yes	40	81.6
Do you receive additional pay for your position as mayoral advisor (beyond your salary for your other position in the authority? (n=46)	No	44	95.7
	Yes	2	4.3
Is there an additional budget in the authority to finance your activities regarding advancing the status of women? (n=50)	No	21	42.0
	Yes	29	58.0

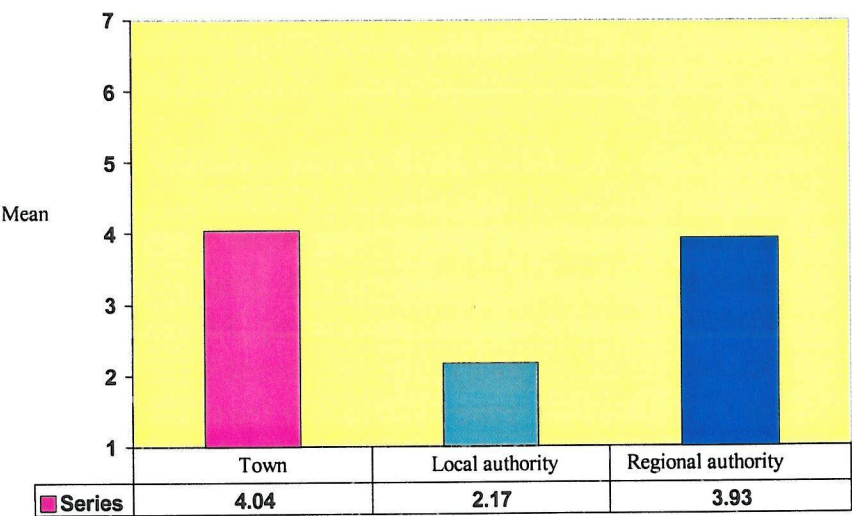
(*) $p < 0.05$

One-way ANOVA analysis comparing the type of settlement – town, local authority or regional authority

Are there differences between the advisors in the different types of settlement – town, local authority or regional authority? In order to answer this question one-way ANOVA analysis of variance were conducted with the most significant differences presented below.

- The advisors’ perception of the role (secondary questionnaire B - 11 items): No significant differences were found between the advisors, whether employed in towns, local authorities or regional authorities.
- The advisors’ perception of the issues under their jurisdiction which they managed to advance since their appointment (secondary questionnaire C – 17 items): In general, no differences were found between the advisors according to type of settlement. At the same time, a difference of marginal significance was found for the advisors’ attitudes regarding their success in increasing female representation in senior positions in the local authority (question no. 8): ($F(2,44)=2.654$; $p<0.08$). The most significant difference is between advisors in towns and those in local authorities (see graph no. 7).

A t-test was thus conducted between the two groups for the same attitude and indicated a significant difference - ($t(31)=2.686$; $p<0.05$) - amongst advisors employed in local authorities. On average, the success in increasing female representation is lower ($M=2.17$) compared to advisors employed in towns ($M=4.04$) or in regional authorities ($M=3.93$).

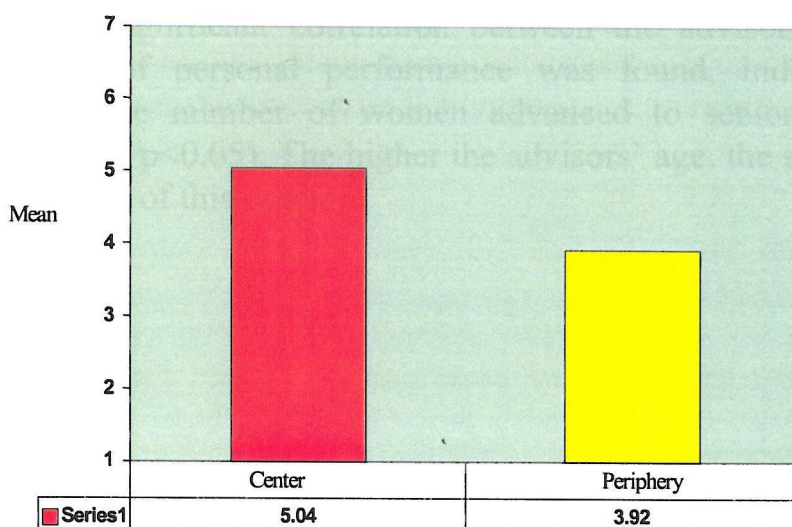


Graph no. 6: The advisors’ success in increasing female representation in senior positions in the local authority according to type of settlement

- Assessing the personal role as mayoral advisor on the status of women (secondary questionnaire D – 30 items): Significant differences were found between the advisors according to the type of local authority. The findings for which significant and marginal differences were found are presented in table no. 33.
- Significant differences were found with respect to six items and marginal significance for two items. In general, assessment of the advisory role in towns and in regional authorities was more positive than in local authorities.
- Assessing the decision-makers' support for the issue of the status of women (secondary questionnaire E – 7 items): Differences were found between the type of authority regarding two role holders: The head of the education department ($F(2,44)=3.037$; $p<0.058$) and the head of the finance department ($F(2,44)=6.913$; $p<0.01$). The level of support for both these role holders is higher on average in towns and regional authorities than in local authorities.
- Initiatives by decision-makers regarding the advancement of the status of women (secondary questionnaire E – 6 items): A difference of marginal significance was found regarding support by decision-makers (item no. 5) ($F(2,41)=2.983$; $p<0.062$). In towns and regional authorities the advisors generally ranked rates of initiative higher ($M=4.36$, $M=4.38$) compared to advisors in local authorities ($M=2.50$).

Comparisons according to the location of the authority – center *versus* periphery (according to t-test)

In general, differences were not found between settlements in central Israel *versus* the periphery. Only one significant result was found in the secondary questionnaire C pertaining to the advisors' success in advancing female leadership in the local authority ($t(46)=2.167$; $p<0.05$): Advisors in settlements in central Israel reported greater success on average regarding promoting female leadership ($M=5.04$) compared to advisors from settlements in peripheral areas ($M=3.92$) (see graph no. 7)



Graph no. 7: Advisors' success in promoting female leadership in local authorities: A comparison between center and periphery

The connection between advisors' age and their attitudes – Pearson correlation coefficient

A Pearson test was conducted and significant or marginally significant correlations were found for five items. The findings are presented in table no. 35.

- A significant negative correlation was found between the advisors' age and their perception of the position pertaining to helping female residents of the town ($r(43) = -0.330$; $p < 0.05$). The higher the advisors' age, the weaker the manifestation of the perception of the role in this regard.
- A marginally significant negative correlation between advisors' age and the perception of the role regarding increasing awareness of the issue of the status of women was found ($r(43) = -0.281$; $p < 0.068$). The higher the advisors' age, the weaker the manifestation of the perception of this aspect of the role.
- A marginally significant negative correlation between the advisors' age and the perception of the role regarding the impact of the decision-makers' attitude was found: ($r(41) = -0.303$; $p < 0.054$). The higher the advisors' age, the weaker the manifestation of the perception of this aspect.
- A significant negative correlation was found between the advisors' age and assessment of the individual role. The dual position limits the scope of advisors' activity: ($r(34) = -0.377$; $p < 0.05$). The higher the advisors' age, the weaker the manifestation of this perception.

- A positive significant correlation between the advisors' age and assessment of personal performance was found, indicating the change in the number of women advanced to senior positions: ($r(40)=0.333$; $p<0.05$). The higher the advisors' age, the stronger the manifestation of this opinion.

Appendix no. 4

Table no. 34: The percentage of females compared to males according to rank groups, 1997-2002, in regular job slots

Year (Total percentage of females)	High rank (1-4)		Medium rank (5-7)		Low rank (8 and below)	
	% Females	% Males	% Females	% Males	% Females	% Males
1997 (62%)	37	63	50	50	70	30
1998 (62%)	38	62	51	49	70	30
1999 (63%)	40	60	53	47	71	29
2000 (63%)	41	59	53	47	71	29
2001 (64%)	41	59	54	46	72	28
2002 (64%)	41*	59	55	45	72	28

*Percentage of females at the three highest ranks in 2002 is 38%



